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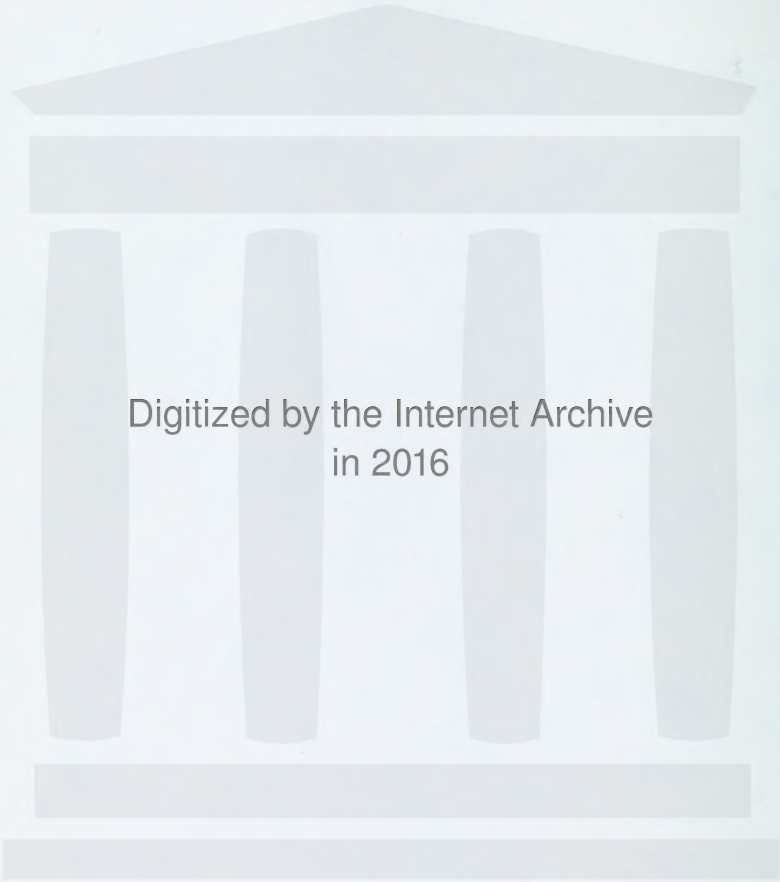
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Mobile of the Five Flags

The Story of the River Basin and Coast About
Mobile from the Earliest Times
to the Present

By
PETER J. HAMILTON, LL. D.
Author of "Colonial Mobile," "Colonization of the South,"
"The Reconstruction Period," Etc.

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To

Two Little Mobilians

Carlotta and Rachel-Duke Hamilton

This Book is Affectionately Dedicated

by

Their Father

With the Hope That They too May Love

The Story of Their Home

PREFACE

I have endeavored in this book to outline the story of the Central Gulf country from the earliest times down to the present. In a sense it is a continuation of the work I began in 1897 with the publication of "Colonial Mobile." It is not told in as great detail, but possibly is more readable on that account. It is the story of my home country, and has been a labor of love. With it I probably leave the subject, except so far as future editions of this volume may call for corrections. It has occupied much of my thought and my investigation for many years, and is very dear to me; but there is a limit to what one can do in any particular direction. I hope in the future it may be worth the while of some one to take up the work where I have left it.

The book was undertaken at the request of the Board of School Commissioners of Mobile County for use in the public schools, but I have endeavored to make its scope wide enough for general use also, since it is the only work covering the subject from the beginning. Many things and many men are omitted whom I would like to mention; but from the necessity of the case I have had to make a selection from the mass of facts available, and I have had to omit much that I would like to use. This applies especially to the period since the War, which is one of great economic interest, and yet difficult to handle now because the events and people are so close to us. For the last two decades I have tried to give tendencies rather than detailed facts.

I have aimed at clearness rather than ornament in the style and the facts I hope are told so as to be readily understood. With this object the book is divided into sections,

each dealing with a separate matter, and is therefore in the nature of a series of pictures, one after the other. If I have succeeded in making them stand out, they will be somewhat like a string of cameos.

I wish to thank all who have aided me with material or suggestions during the progress of the work. I have found that it has excited general interest, and I have met with assistance from many quarters. It would not be practicable to name all who have helped, but they are held in grateful remembrance.

A list of the principal authorities for each period is prefixed to the respective parts and will be found of value. For the first six periods I have needed little outside of these, and data from the Catholic Church Records supplied me by Bishop E. P. Allen. For the Confederate times I have received valuable aid from Colonel Price Williams, Jr., General J. W. Whiting, Judge Saffold Berney, Dr. Thomas M. Owen and others. For the last period of the book I am greatly indebted for facts to Collector H. G. Ashley, Captain A. C. Danner, Ashbel Hubbard, and the Chamber of Commerce, and to Dr. Erwin Craighead for aid in the arrangement of the material in its proper perspective.

The illustrations of the volume are of special interest. Many are original and some are unique. They are principally from books, relics or papers in my own possession, but some have been kindly loaned by different people for this purpose. There were others planned for also that could not be obtained. The frontispiece, representing Mobile in 1711, has been carefully drawn by Miss Armantine Brown from contemporary maps and illustrations, and correctly shows the fort, houses, streets and boats of French Mobile. Another valuable feature of the book consists of the maps of the country at different times, all drawn on the same scale, and showing the forts and cities

at each period. These maps were drawn by Mr. Lawrence H. McNeill, who has also placed upon the old Confederate map of the Bay the three lines of intrenchments about Mobile. The flags were drawn by Mr. Frank Carey and were added at the suggestion of the School Board.

I am indebted for valuable suggestions to W. T. McGowin and M. J. Vickers of the School Board, and in proof reading and otherwise I have been much aided by Mrs. P. J. Hamilton, Miss May Eanes, Miss Mamie H. Smith, Miss Mabel O. Bickell, and by my little daughter, Rachel-Duke.

The book is "Made in Mobile" from beginning to end,—text, printing, binding, illustrations and all, and the result speaks for itself. I would do injustice to my own feelings if I did not specially thank the publishers and Mr. Chas. S. Belle, the Monotype operator, and Mr. G. L. Norman of the Aynesley Engraving Company, who has faithfully reproduced the illustrations.

Much material has necessarily been omitted, but I trust enough is included to give a fair picture of "Mobile of the Five Flags," and, with the hope that it may prove useful, the book is now submitted to the public.

PETER J. HAMILTON.

Mobile, January, 1913.

To Teachers

I would suggest to teachers that in the use of the book one or two of the early lessons be devoted to going through the illustrations, including maps, with the aid of the list prefixed. Many of these are from original material, and taken as a whole they furnish a good introduction to the subject. I would also suggest that the scholars be not required to memorize all the names and dates, but rather to learn the story by sections and by periods. In a book

of this kind it is necessary, in order to secure accuracy, to give many facts which cannot be carried in the mind. This applies especially to the chapter on Mobile Soldiers and to the last period of the book.

While I have tried to use simple language, the subjects discussed cover many of the vital problems of social growth, and explanations may have to be made by the teacher from time to time. These difficulties are connected with the subject rather than with the form of expression.

In order to maintain the flow of the narrative I have not attempted to name the governors of the state or the mayors of the city except where there is special need for it. A list of these officials is given in the appendix and can be used for reference. The same is true as to some recent facts and statistics, which are given in the appendix under the head, "Present Mobile."

So many foreign names of people, such as De Soto and Bienville, have become naturalized, so to speak, that I have not thought it necessary to add a table of pronunciation of names. Where not familiar, they are generally simple French or Spanish words, in which it will be useful to remember that "a" is pronounced as in father, "e" as in they, "i" as in quarantine, and "u" as in plume, and to remember that "ç" is the equivalent of "s."

PETER J. HAMILTON.

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List of Governors—List of Mayors—Present Mobile.

ILLUSTRATIONS

MOBILE IN 1711 ..... FRONTISPIECE

The Fort of cedar and cypress stakes is shown in the foreground, with a little chapel towards the rear. The two-story house on the right is that of Chateaugue. Bienville's is to the left of the Fort. The streets, blocks, and houses conform to the map of 1711. The ships and boats represent French vessels of that day. On the wharf are Bienville and seamen in conversation, while Indians and sailors are in canoes on the river. The shore rises somewhat as it goes back from the river, and among the trees are easily made out the oaks and pines which once occupied the site.

THE SPIRITU SANTO AND THE GULF COAST, 1519 5

This is a copy of the Ribero map now at Weimar in Germany. It shows the exploration of Ayllon on the Atlantic and of Garay, who sent out Pineda on the Gulf Coast. The Bay into which empties the Rio Del Espiritu is supposed to be Mobile Bay.

INDIAN RELICS NEAR MOBILE 7

The upper lines show stone arrow-heads, the lowest line a stone for mixing paint, a pipe, two forms of stones for crushing corn and a tomahawk. These all come from near Mobile. The pipe is two inches high and the others are in proportion.

INDIAN RELICS, ALABAMA RIVER 9

The upper lines are arrow-heads from Fort Mims and other places up the river,—one from Fort Mims is discolored as if by blood. The third line is a series of beautiful small arrow-points from Little River, used for bird hunting. The big celt or scraper at the bottom is fourteen inches long, and came from Clarke County, given the author by Isaac Grant. There is also a tomahawk from near Selma.

CHEROKEE RELICS..... 12

Some of these arrow-heads are from near Florence and Huntsville. The tomahawks and broken pitcher are from Asheville, N. C., in the Cherokee country. The pitcher is seven inches high.

INDIAN RELICS, DAUPHINE ISLAND..... 14

Showing the animal heads which were used as handles to pottery. Pieces of pottery are also given, with ornamentation. These articles, as well as those in the four preceding pictures, are in the collection of the author.

MAP OF THE COUNTRY IN INDIAN TIMES....FACING PAGE 19

This gives a general idea of the country before the white man made a settlement. The Spiritu Santo and one or two other Spanish names are given on the coast. These and the corresponding later maps were drawn by L. H. McNeill, of Mobile, from information supplied by the author. Each gives the latitudes 29°, 31°, 33° and 35° North Latitude, and St. Stephens Meridian.

DE SOTO..... 23

This picture is from the Rui Diaz History of Florida, published in Madrid in 1893. It shows the armor of that day.

FRENCH FLAG.....FACING PAGE 33

Of the time of Louis XIV.

FRENCH SHIPS..... 38

These are two of the vessels imprisoned in Port Dauphin by the storm of 1717, as shown upon the drawing made at that time and place.

FORT LOUIS DE LA MOBILE, 1702..... 43

This plan was made when the place was founded in 1702 and still exists in manuscript in the Ministry of the Colonies at Paris. The two round marks near the centre do not belong to the map; they are merely the seals of the Minister of the Colonies.

FRENCH RELICS, 1702 46

In the upper line are seen two large nails, a piece of epaulette, and one of the flat bricks out of which the powder magazine was made. On the lower line is a solid shot, and a large bar shot. All from the site of Fort Louis. The bar shot is 13 inches long and of the kind used to fire at the rigging of ships so as to cut it down. These relics were found by the author in 1897, except the bar shot, which was found in 1913 by E. T. O'Connor. (See also Spanish Relics, p 180, and also Sou on Seal of West Florida, p. 147.)

BICENTENNIAL MONUMENT AT OLD FORT LOUIS 49

Erected by the citizens of Mobile at the bicentennial celebration at Twenty-Seven Mile Bluff, and unveiled with appropriate exercises. It is a block of grantie about four feet high. On it is: "Erected by the|People of Mobile|January 23, 1902,|to Commemorate|the 200th anniversary|of the Founding here of|Fort Louis de la Mobile|by Pierre le Moyne Sieur d' Iberville|and|Jean Baptiste Le Moyne Sieur de Bienville|."

BIENVILLE 52

From Pierre Margry's great collection of documents. It corresponds to a painting in the Chateau Ramezay at Montreal. It shows the armor of the day.

CREOLE HOUSES 59

These are the style of those built at Mobile from the beginning, but do not themselves go back to French times. They are at the northeast corner of St. Francis and Lawrence Streets.

MOBILE, 1711 63

This plan of the city and Fort Louis shows Mobile as it was established on its present site. With a large magnifying glass the list of people at the top and description of the town at the sides gives much information. From a photograph furnished by the French Ministry of the Colonies.

COUTUME DE PARIS 71

The title page of the Coutume de Paris printed in 1664. It was formerly owned by Alfred Hennen, Esq., of New Orleans and is now the property of P. J. Hamilton.

FRENCH CANNON 80

In Bienville Square will be found two cannon, illustrated in this volume, both from Fort Charlotte. This tapering gun is of French times.

HARBOR OF LA ROCHELLE 83

Through this entrance to the port of La Rochelle the French discoverers passed and repassed to Mobile. The picture is recent, but the towers in the foreground and the church in the background are ancient.

CANNON FROM FORT TOULOUSE 85

In the Museum of Alabama Department of Archives at Montgomery. The brass breechlock is itself bored and can be used as a gun; an unreliable tradition says that it belonged to De Soto. The wooden carriage is modern.

PORT DAUPHIN 89

In the illustration will be seen a number of French houses and small boats. This is from the same drawing as the French Ships.

CITY HALL, LA ROCHELLE 95

It has existed substantially in its present form for many centuries, and was familiar to the Frenchmen who founded Mobile.

MOBILE COAST 109

Among the maps issued by Law's Company was this of the Coast of Louisiana, of which Mobile, the Nouveau Fort Louis, was the principal city. It shows the location of the Old (Vieux) Fort and many other places.

BRITISH MERCHANT FLAG ..... FACING P. 131

Selected because the Nation is essentially commercial.

MAJOR ROBERT FARMAR 135

The portrait, showing him in uniform, has been furnished by one of his descendants. The Major spelled his name with an "a" in the second syllable.

MAP OF THE COUNTRY IN BRITISH TIMES ..... FACING P. 137

The Indian and French names appear, but to them are now added some British settlements, showing the gradual advance of the white man at the expense of the Indian. The map shows the first Indian cession, that of 1765 to the British.

BRITISH MOBILE 141

The plat is taken from Roberts' Florida. It shows Mobile as a country town about the fort, but preserving the outlines of the old French city.

SEAL OF WEST FLORIDA 147

Shows the British coat of arms with the lion and the unicorn on the obverse and on the reverse a rural scene. Everything is in Latin. At the sides is a copy of the French Sou of John Law's time, having on the obverse crossed L's under a crown, and the words "Colonies Francoises." (The Sou has nothing to do with the seal.)

BRITISH ADMIRALTY CHART, 1771 149

Made under the supervision of Durnford and is the first one giving soundings. It shows also the lay of the coast and its settlements at that time.

BRITISH CANNON 156

The piece came from Fort Charlotte, and is marked by the official Broad Arrow of the navy. It is now mounted in Bienville Square.

SPANISH FLAG ..... FACING P. 159

Spanish Flag, Eighteenth Century.

GALVEZ 161

This portrait was furnished by William Beer of the Howard Memorial Library at New Orleans. Galvez is shown in full official costume.

SPANISH LAND GRANTS 166

Shown in their positions relative to each other and to the principal modern streets of Mobile. The map was drawn for Colonial Mobile by J. R. Peavey, Jr., under direction of the author.

ELLICOTT STONE 169

The stone is about three feet high, although in the picture it looks much higher.

MAP OF THE COUNTRY IN SPANISH TIMES 173

The northern district is not shown in detail because West Florida never extended so far, and in later Spanish times was limited to the coast south of latitude 31 degrees.

SPANISH PASSPORT 177

Shows the beginning of the Spanish Passport among the archives in the Mobile Probate Court. The Spanish seal is at the top, and the private seal of Col. Bouligny is at the bottom of the original.

SPANISH RELICS 180

The piece of shell shown was found by R. L. Yuille on the Eastern Shore. It is very thick. The solid shot is from a house in Pensacola which stood on the site of a Spanish battery. The half shot to the right is from Fort St. Stephen.' (The gavel at the top is French, being made from cedar which came from Bienville's Wharf at the foot of Government Street.)

PIONEER RELICS 186

The old time hoe is from the neighborhood of St. Stephens. There is also shown a steel, used to light a fire by striking a flint, from the Touacha Mounds in Baldwin County The axe, crushed in from being used as a wedge, came from the neighborhood of Fort Jackson.

SPANISH MOBILE 189

A curious map from the papers of Louis Troost, an old surveyor at Mobile. Observe the strange way in which it indicates doors or entrances.

American Flag.....Facing P. 191
United States Flag, Early Nineteenth Century.

Pushmataha..... 200
In the regimentals of which this Choctaw chief was so proud, given him by General Flournoy at the beginning of the Creek War.

Water Front in 1823.....211
Around the Goodwin and Haire map of 1823 are pictures of buildings of the time, and at the top is this view of the water front. Observe the steamboat.

Mobile in 1823..... 218
The Goodwin and Haire map is usually spoken of as dating from 1824, when it was published, but it was drawn the year before. It is the earliest map of the whole city and shows its extension back from the river to which it had heretofore clung. Only one copy of this map exists.

Garrow House, 1819..... 222
Formerly on Government Street, opposite the Presbyterian Church, residence of Mayor S. H. Garrow. It had on the gutter-heads the date 1819. Tradition said that LaFayette was entertained there,—an honor claimed by several other houses.

A Government Street Home of the Thirties.... 229
Built by Rev. William T. Hamilton in 1836 and pulled down by a subsequent owner about 1900. The trees were planted by Dr. Hamilton and his sons. In early days it had a fence in front and the gates were locked at night. The walks and drives were edged with bricks and box hedge and summer houses were on both sides of the lot.

Map of Alabama in 1830.....Facing P. 235
This shows the gradual development of the state, the only obstacle to its unity being remnants of the Indian tribes in the east and west and at the north. Instead

of four Indian tribes, we now have five American states near the Gulf. With the next step, the removal of the Indians, began the railroads.

BISHOP MICHAEL PORTIER 238
From a photograph furnished by Bishop E. P. Allen.

DR. J. R. BURGETT 240
From a photograph in the family.

BISHOP R. H. WILMER 241
From a photograph presented by him to Dr. Burgett.

RAILROAD MONEY 246–247
These two pieces of paper money were issued by railroads in central Alabama at the time of their construction in the thirties.

BARTON ACADEMY 253
Shows the Academy as it was before the present wings were added. It was taken immediately after the Civil War, and gives one of the horse cars of the time.

J. C. NOTT 257
From a photograph given by Dr. Nott to one of his patients.

A. B. MEEK 260
From the Reminiscences of William R. Smith, a warm friend of Judge Meek.

MADAME LE VERT 261
From an engraving in the possession of the Y. M. C. A., of Mobile.

AUGUSTA EVANS WILSON 262
Represents Mrs. Wilson in his later years and is from a photograph given by her to the author.

C. C. LANGDON 265
From a photograph in the possession of Mrs. Jack F. Ross, Mobile.

THEODORE O'HARA 266
From a print furnished by Dr. Erwin Craighead.

G. A. Ketchum 268
From an early photograph.

Dauphin Street 272
Shows the old buildings, and also the iron fence around Bienville Square.

Battle House 273
From a bill-head of the Battle House dated 1853, shortly after its construction.

Municipal Building 275
As it was before the remodelling of 1911.

John A. Campbell 277
From a photograph presented by Judge Campbell to Peter Hamilton.

R. H. Smith 282
From a photograph in the possession of his daughter, Mrs. J. B. Thornton.

Confederate Flag ..... Facing P. 289
Battle Flag of the Southern Confederacy.

John Forsyth 295
This is part of a group in the editorial rooms of the Mobile Register.

Map of Country in Confederate Times ..... Facing P. 299

Abram J. Ryan 304
From his Collected Works.

Archibald Gracie 311
From a photograph in the possession of Miss Brown, of Mobile.

James Hagan 315
From a photograph in the possession of his son, John D. Hagan.

Confederate Cannon 316
Brought from Fort Morgan and mounted in Duncan Place in Mobile by William Butler Duncan.

RAPHAEL SEMMES 320
From a photograph of the Admiral as he appeared about the time of the War.

THE FLORIDA 324
As she was running through the blockaders into Mobile Bay. From a painting belonging to the late L. G. Stone, her executive officer.

MAP OF MOBILE BAY IN CONFEDERATE TIMES ....Facing 327
Copied from an old Confederate tracing. The three lines of entrenchments about Mobile have been platted in by Mr. L. H. McNeill.

THE TENNESSEE 328
Shows her profile before battle as given in Scharf's "Confederate States Navy."

CONFEDERATE RELICS 330
Showing a McKinstry pike, a piece of a Farragut shell, a shrapnel from Blakely, and some copper from the wreck of the Kearsarge.

ADMIRAL FRANKLIN BUCHANAN 331
Of the Virginia and the Tennessee.

THE TENNESSEE AFTER THE BATTLE 332
The smokestack is gone and the smoke is pouring out of the vessel.

GUARD HOUSE 341
This quaint tower held the fire bell and clock above and below was the city prison. The police headquarters were on Conti, and the mayor's court room upstairs near the corner of St. Emanuel. The walls were thick, in Spanish style. The buildings were erected in the forties.

THOS. H. HERNDON 347
From a photograph.

PETER HAMILTON 348
With his signature.

Gustavus Horton 349
From a photograph in the possession of the family.

Lewis T. Woodruff 354
Copied from a portrait prefixed to the City Directory of 1870 after the death of Colonel Woodruff caused by the falling of a wall at a fire.

City Money 357
Furnished by Mayor Schwarz.

Mobile Fire Dept. Insurance Co. Sign 369
From an iron sign of the company now in the possession of the author. It is fourteen inches long. It had to be photographed on a larger scale than the other articles in order to be distinct.

Foote's Money 370
A bill formerly in the possession of William H. Ross, of Mobile.

Bicentennial Medal 389
Copied from one of the bronze medals struck by the city in 1911. The silver medal is less distinct.

PERIOD I.

THE SPANIARDS IN THE INDIAN COUNTRY

1519-1670

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moisture have much to do with climate, but another feature is the soil. The mountain region in which our rivers rise is made up of rocks of different epochs, and, while they produce coal and iron, these were not known until lately. The heads of the Alabama and Tombigbee Valleys cut through this mountain country to within a few miles of the Tennessee River, which here makes a sweep to the south before emptying into the Ohio. But the main interest of our story will be connected with the streams which join to make up the Mobile River. While they flow to the south, it is a curious fact that the different kinds of soil through which they pass lie in belts parallel with the Gulf of Mexico, and our river system therefore cuts through different kinds of land. The belt of land furthest north is the Mineral Region of which we have spoken. The streams making up the Alabama and the Tombigbee Rivers pass through this, but on account of rocks they generally cannot be used for boats. This is the nature of the Tallapoosa and Coosa rivers which pass over falls at Tallasee and Wetumpka before they unite to form the Alabama, and the same is true of the Black Warrior River in the west, whose principal falls are at Tuscaloosa. The Warrior unites with the Tombigbee, whose upper portion is broken by sandbars rather than by falls. Next south of this Mineral Belt is what is called the Black Belt, made up of limestone and which is the most fertile part of the South. This sweeps in a broad crescent through the whole country from the mouth of the Ohio River nearly to the Atlantic Ocean. The third and last division of soil of interest to us is what is known as Pine Belt, a sandy region extending from the Gulf Coast inward for about one hundred miles. When the oak forests are cut away, the Black Belt is suitable for corn and cotton, but the Pine Belt produces only forests, valuable for their timber. This pine region is underlaid by a clay

THE SPIRITU SANTO AND GULF COAST (1519)

sub-soil which retains fertilizers, and therefore it can be made to produce corn and vegetables in abundance. The Alabama-Tombigbee Basin, therefore, is made up of three very different kinds of country, but the rivers flow south through all of them and unite at the marshy delta above Mobile Bay, and in this way brought the different districts and peoples into relations with each other. The basin is now largely within the State of Alabama, but the sources of the rivers are in the states of Georgia and Mississippi. While it was not separated by mountains from other parts of the South, the district had a unity of its own, and its people could develop independently of the rest of the country in a kind of isolation.

3. *The Coast Indians.* The first inhabitants or aborigines were called Indians, from the notion of Columbus that he had reached India. It would seem as if they came to America from Asia and one tribe pushed the other on before it, somewhat as in the Barbarian migrations in Europe at the fall of the Roman Empire. Those about the Gulf Coast were divided into a number of tribes, having more or less in common. Several of the smaller tribes were of the Sioux race, but cut off by later invasions from their brethren west of the Mississippi. This was probably the case with the Biloxi and possibly the Pascagoula, while the Natchez and Tensaws show greater likeness to Mexican races. About Mobile and Pensacola Bays the Indian population was not large, but the tribes of the interior came to the coast at the fish and oyster season in great numbers. There is some difficulty in learning much about the natives on the coast because they had decreased in number by historic times, and in some cases but few words of their languages have survived. They were much like the Indians of the interior and had to some extent passed into the agricultural state, for they raised the native beans and melons and quite

generally that American staple, maize or Indian corn. Their patches were produced by burning the cane from the river bottoms, and these were often flooded. On the other hand although large and small game abounded, fishing and

INDIAN RELICS NEAR MOBILE

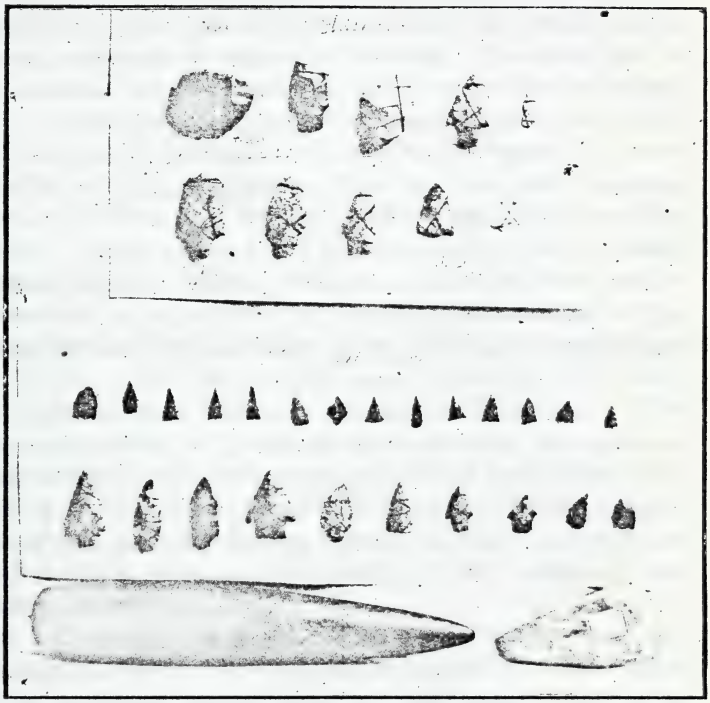
hunting were very uncertain in results. The men were the hunters and fishers and the women were the farmers.

4. *The Chickasaws.* The name Muscogean is applied to three of the four great southern nations. It would seem that what were afterwards known as the Choctaws, Chickasaws and Creeks were originally one nation, who, after

reaching the Alabama-Tombigbee Basin from the northwest, broke into three branches. Of these the Choctaws and Chickasaws were the most closely allied and remained side by side. The Choctaws were the further south and extended from the Alabama River almost to the Mississippi. The Chickasaws were further north, in the country between the sources of the Yazoo and the Tombigbee Rivers. The Chickasaws were the fiercest of the southern Indians, and fighting was their normal condition. They were the smallest of the tribes, but the most feared. Their boundary with the Choctaws was about the Noxubee River, meaning Fighting Water, a name derived from the bloody encounters in its vicinity; for their kinship increased rather then lessened the ferocity of the wars.

5. The Choctaws. The Choctaws were the most numerous of the southern Indians, and, like the others, divided into clans on the basis of descent from one mother. These clans bore names of animal totems or signs, representing their ancestors, and members of any one could not eat the flesh of the particular bird, fish or beast from whom they claimed descent. This reminds us much of ancient Egypt, for the clan system we find there, in Scotland and in many other parts of the world. Leading men of the clans met in a common council for discussion of public matters. The older men ruled in peace, while in war there was a special commander, and the warriors were from the younger men. War with the neighboring Chickasaws and Creeks was perhaps the normal state of affairs, but within the Choctaw nation itself there were few quarrels. In late times we shall find three subdivisions of the Choctaws—the Southeastern and Eastern about the Tombigbee, and the Western or Six Towns near the Mississippi. They lived in what are known as towns, but the word had a different meaning then. Their houses were generally tents, made of bark or skins

upheld by poles, in which the Indians slept on the ground, covered by a skin or blanket. There was no furniture in our sense of the word—seldom even the box, from which has gradually grown the different pieces of furniture so



INDIAN RELICS, ALABAMA RIVER

familiar in European and American homes. The houses were grouped around a central space reserved for meetings, and the number of the inhabitants of any town was not large. The towns were situated on or near water courses and were connected by trails, which were well known to the

Indians, and in some cases were originally laid out by the buffalo.

6. The Mobilians. From the earliest times we find a language called Mobilian, the best known of all from the Atlantic to the Mississippi, and indications of what the Spaniards called "an empire," covering the whole central South, and with its capital at Maubila. The exact site of this town is one of the puzzles which may never be solved. We can only safely say that it was somewhere between the Alabama and Tombigbee Rivers, and probably in either Clarke or Marengo Counties of our day; for several authors give it as about one hundred and twenty miles from the coast. Indian towns when destroyed would leave hardly a trace behind. Maubila was near a lake, and the country abounded in palmettoes, but a lake, palmettoes and arrow heads can be found at many places. There is every reason to believe that the people were Choctaws; the name Maubila itself is Choctaw, and means "paddlers." The few words which we have of theirs seem to be Choctaw also, and the best plan would seem to be for us to think of Maubila as the chief town of the Choctaws east of the Tombigbee River and in its day having through its chief a commercial and political influence over much of the Alabama-Tombigbee Basin.

7. Creeks or Muscogees. About the Coosa and the Tallapoosa Rivers lived an Indian Nation who on account of the number of watercourses in their country were to be known to the English as "Creeks;" but they called themselves "Muscogees." From time to time they adopted remnants of foreign tribes, and all lived in apparent harmony. Originally they extended to the Atlantic Ocean and it was from them that the English acquired the coast of Georgia. At a later date also some of them were on the Chattahoochee River, where they were called the Lower

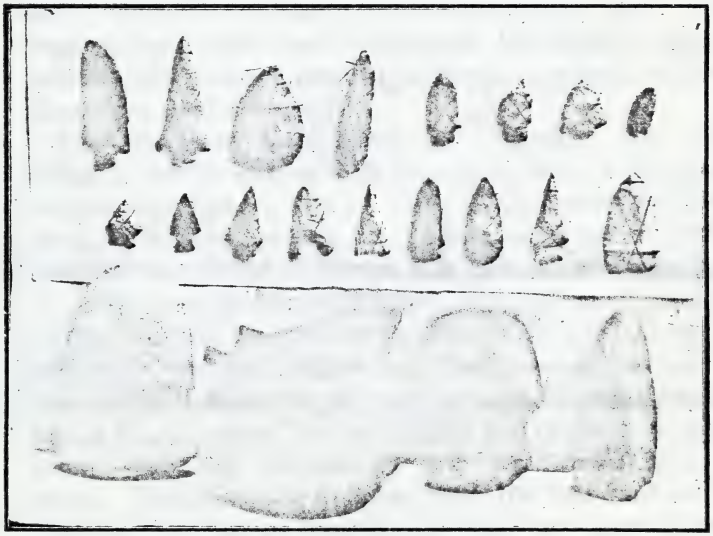
Creeks, to distinguish them from the Upper on the Coosa and Tallapoosa. The Northern Creeks always had a capital or principal town, Coza or Cosa, on the river named from it, which was early celebrated, and later the capital was lower down at Tookabatcha. The country about these two sources of the Alabama is a rugged, well wooded district, sometimes fertile and productive in game, that part of the South first known to outsiders and the last which the Indians were to claim. The Creeks were perhaps more warlike than the Choctaws and were in constant conflict with them. In later times the boundary between the two nations was the winding watershed between the Alabama and the Tombigbee Rivers; but in the Spanish period the boundary was probably further east, for Cahaba is a Choctaw word.

8. The Cherokees. Far to the north on both sides of the upper Tennessee River lived the fourth of the great southern tribes, known in history as the Cherokees, who had probably been the builders of the famous mounds on the Ohio River. They have proved to be the Indians most easily civilized, but up in their mountains they were the most remote from European influence and were the most serious obstacle to white colonization. Their true country was in the mountains of the present states of North Carolina, Georgia and Tennessee, now called the "Land of the Sky." Those on the southern slopes were known as the Lower Cherokees and those beyond as the Upper. It was only in later times that the Tennessee Valley came to be frequented by them. Their mountain country produced gold, as they found out and the Spanish after them; but they held their lands by bravery rather than by trade.

The Cherokees were not less brave than the Chickasaws, whom they joined on the west, and in fact all of the southern Indians were great warriors. The settled habits and

courage of the four great nations were so marked as to make their history more famous than any American Indians except the Iroquois of the North.

9. What the Mounds Tell Us. We know something of the Indians from the white races who found them here, but this information is often unfair, for it comes from enemies.



CHEROKEE RELICS

We learn a great deal also from remains which the Indians have left. Not only do the rivers and creeks retain the musical names of these aborigines, but, scattered along the streams can still be found mounds, sometimes of great height, graves and other works, some almost as important as the famous mounds on the Ohio. On the Alabama River in Wilcox County are many mounds, and on the Tombigbee near modern Livingston are a number from

which have been taken beautiful stone vases and weapons, besides the pottery, ornaments and human remains generally found. The seashore is not free of shell mounds and other evidences of the past, and one striking work can be still seen in a canal connecting Bon Secours Bay with the Gulf of Mexico. This has since been overgrown with forest trees, but bears evidence of great labor by some prehistoric race. The use of these places is not always clear. The mounds may have been sometimes for defence against enemies, sometimes a refuge from floods, and most of them have been used for burial.

10. Weapons, Implements and Utensils. The first things in use by man as tools must have been of wood, but wooden articles soon decay. Over all the world the oldest things which we now find are of stone, and hence it is said that the first period in human history was the Stone Age. In other parts of the world bronze was next used for such things, and then iron proved the best of all; but in America early man had not gone so far. Doubtless at first one or two articles sufficed for all uses; for a stone could crack a nut or hit an enemy, but the Indians had reached the stage where they had weapons for war and implements for peace. The principal weapons were the bow and arrow, the spear and axe or tomahawk. The bows were of bent wood with deer sinew for the string, and the arrows were of cane or other light wood. The spears were also of wood, but the arrow and spearheads of stone have survived in great variety. Sometimes we find places where they were made, with piles of the little chips which were skillfully broken off until the weapon had the shape desired. Many tomahawks are also found, shaped like a hatchet, but with two grooves across the sides instead of a hole for the handle. The handle was split, the tomahawk inserted, and then tied. Sometimes the axe was driven through a sapling

and, after the wood had firmly closed in the grooves, the sapling was cut off so as to form a handle. Unlike man in the age of metals, the Indians had no swords. The great variety of stone used for their weapons shows that there was an extensive trade between different parts of the country, for arrow heads made of stone from the Great Lakes are common in the South. Some of the same articles were used for peaceful implements, for a tomahawk would cut down a tree. There was nothing but a forked stick for plowing and no real garden tools. All the southern tribes had learned to make pottery, for clay was abundant.

INDIAN RELICS, DAUPHINE ISLAND

Pots were built up by coiling clay formed like a rope into the required shape, polished afterwards by hand, and then burned hard. Frequently fanciful lines or animals were scratched upon the surface, or handles affixed showing animal heads or tails, and a glaze was sometimes added which made the ware more useful and lasting. The pottery was of all shapes and sizes, and, while most of it was used to cook food, large pieces sometimes received the bones of the dead. There is at Philadelphia a collection of pots, each several feet high, filled with human bones from our part of the country. The weapons which

survive are much like those found in other places over the world—for instance, like those which have been dug up in England—and show that the Indians in the Sixteenth Century were at the same stage of culture that the old Britons were in the times before Christ. They were fighters rather than farmers. The axe, plough and anvil have been the great instruments of civilization, and the ignorance of metals prevented their use in America. The Indians had no domestic animal to help them except the dog, and so could not increase their work beyond what their own hands could do. And now in their home country they were to meet white races which had made all the progress of which mankind was capable.

CHAPTER II.

THE BAY OF SPIRITU SANTO.

1. Spain. The Indians were not only of the Stone Age, but their civilization itself seemed petrified. The history of the South was not to be that of their development; they were rather to be a foil for European invaders—a stone upon which these were to be sharpened. When the time came for this, Spain was the leading country of Europe. The Dark Ages passed with the Renaissance of the 15th century, and by this time each of the countries which had grown up on parts of the old Roman Empire had acquired a character of its own. Nowhere was this truer than in the southwestern peninsula of Europe, Spain. Its old Gothic races with their Roman varnish had been pushed back by the Moors, but, after a long duel, which was really the survival of the old Crusades, the two Spanish kingdoms of Castile and Leon became one under the flag bearing their two emblems of the castle and the lion. Afterwards when Isabella was queen her marriage with Ferdinand of Aragon joined all Christian Spain, and Ferdinand and Isabella conquered G r a n a d a and expelled the Saracens from Europe. During these centuries of warfare the Spaniards became the best soldiers of Europe, and, while the conflict had been marked by chivalry, it had also developed a spirit of cruelty.

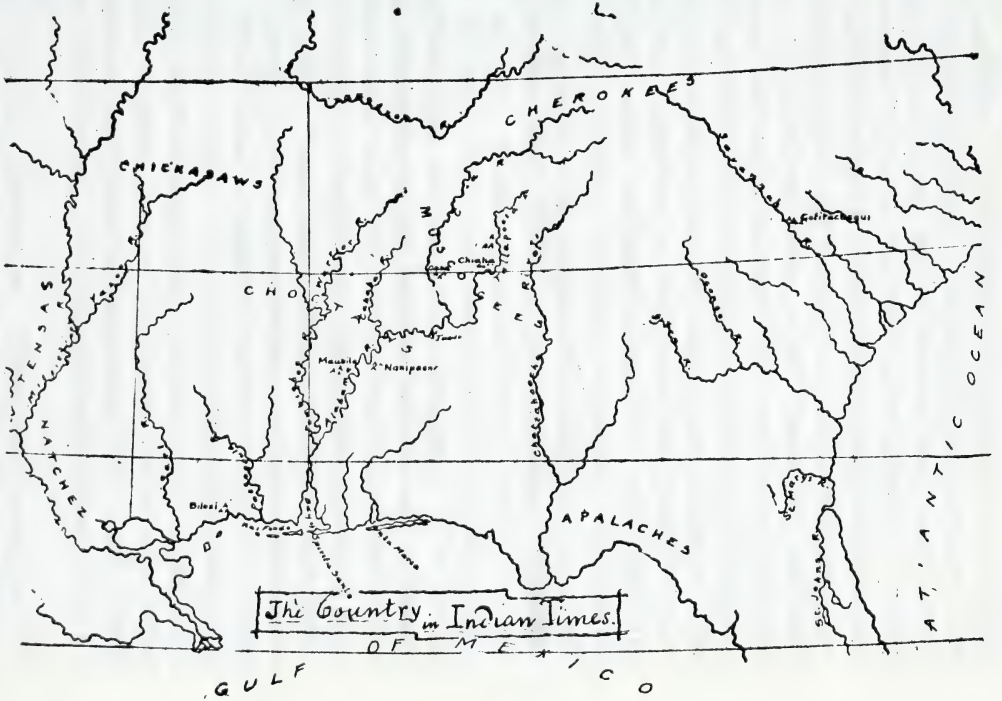
2. Discoveries. The neighboring country of Portugal had become the leading maritime nation of the day, and not only had her Prince Henry explored the coast of Africa, but her merchants were establishing posts in the East Indies. The acquisition of Seville made Spain a rival, and, as if showing how greatness was leaving the Mediterranean, it was for Spain that the Genoese Columbus discovered

the New World. In several voyages he explored Hispaniola and Cuba, and, sailing up and down the Atlantic coast, he and his successors gradually outlined the two continents of North and South America. The English and French were to follow in their turn, but the sea which we know as the Gulf of Mexico was first occupied by the Spaniards. Ponce de Leon explored Florida, six years later Cortez conquered the rich Aztec kingdom of Mexico, and Jamaica soon became a Spanish colony.

3. Cuba and Mexico. Columbus supposed that he had reached the Asiatic islands, and maps of his followers did not show America as a continent. One of 1513 is supposed to have been based upon a map of Columbus and it shows not only the West Indies, Mexico, and Florida, but a series of rivers and indentations along the north coast of the Gulf. These are no doubt guess work, but Cuba, Jamaica, and Mexico gradually became settled by the Spaniards, and the starting points for their explorations to the north and south. Peru was to be the richest prize, but the countries from Peru to Mexico were found to be not only valuable in themselves, but important as containing the roads between the Atlantic and the Pacific. The Spaniards were little more than the ruling class, bent upon finding the gold and silver which Hispaniola, Mexico, and Peru furnished in abundance, and the greed of their leaders increased the cruel spirit which they had inherited from the Moorish wars. Indians of Mexico and other southern countries were more advanced in the arts of peace than those of the upper Gulf coast, but they had lost much of the warlike spirit which prevailed further to the north. They had neither horses nor firearms, two agents which made the Spaniards formidable, and could offer but slight resistance. In this way the new world was fast becoming provinces of Spain.

4. Pineda's Voyage. While most of the adventurers sought the west and south, a governor of Jamaica named Garay determined to explore the north, and find out whether Florida was an island, as others reported. If so, there would be a passage further west and other lands to conquer. He selected for his admiral one Pineda, who in 1519 explored the whole north shore of the Gulf from east to west. His report was somewhat vague, as was to be expected in an unmapped country, but probably he discovered what we know as Mobile Bay and River. He reported to Garay that he had found a river of great volume and on it a considerable town, where he remained forty days trading with the natives and cleaning the hulls of the boats. On ascending the river he saw on its banks within six leagues forty Indian villages, and these would seem to be shown by the mounds still seen on Mobile and Tensaw Rivers. This is confirmed by the map which Garay next year sent home to Spain to illustrate Pineda's voyage. On the north coast of the Gulf the map gives a pear-shaped bay within the coast line, with a long eastern offset at the south, and the legend (writing) on the map gives the name "Spiritu Santo," the first ever given to this sheet of water. The map seems to have been the basis of several afterwards made, one of them being a Spanish plan of seven years later, on which by far the most prominent body of water emptying into the Gulf is the double Bay called "Mar Pequeña," which means a little sea of salt water. Flowing into it is the Rio Del Spiritu (River of the Spirit), emptying by several mouths. This map is by Ribero and can still be seen at Weimar, where it was brought by the great Emperor Charles V from Spain.

5. Narvaez in Florida. Mexico had come to be known as New Spain, with claims to the north and northeast, and, when Florida was gradually found not to be an island, the


35°
33°
31°
29°
CHEROKEES
CHICKASAWS
CHOCTAWS
NATCHEZ
APALACHES
ATLANTIC OCEAN
GULF OF MEXICO
The Country in Indian Times.

name of Florida was likewise extended towards the north and northwest. One of the adventurers of both districts was Panfilo de Narvaez. He was given a commission from Spain to put Cortez out of Mexico, but found himself driven away by Cortez and with the loss of an eye. Foiled in this direction, he obtained a permission for the conquest of Florida, and in 1528 sailed from Cuba for his new province. He landed near what we call Tampa Bay and made his way overland to the north and west, trying upon the fierce natives of the peninsula the methods which the Spaniards had employed with the milder races of Mexico. The result was disastrous to both sides, and finally Narvaez was glad to seek the coast at Apalache, near where the peninsula of Florida joins the mainland. He wintered there, lost some of his horses, and made boats to proceed further west; and it is this voyage which brings him within our territory. He coasted along Florida, landing occasionally for water, and spent some time at an island which may have been the one we call Dauphine. The French were afterwards to find near its western end a heap of human bones, which led them to name it Massacre Island, and these they thought were the remains of some of Narvaez' party. This is hardly true, but there can be no doubt at least that he visited our shores and obtained provisions. He did not come to colonize, however, and gladly hoisted his sails for the west. The waters of some large stream, it may be the Mississippi, drove his boat far out to sea, and there he perished, but one boat load of his followers under Cabeza de Vaca landed in what we call Texas, and a few of them were to make a famous overland exploration to the west.

6. Spanish Colonization. There were among the different nations different reasons and different methods of colonization. Not that any one of them had a special

plan. Often then, as now, people would embark upon an expedition for their private purposes and were only recognized by the home government when it was to the advantage of the ruler. At the same time, in such kingdoms as Spain and France, the theory was that military service was due the king, and no one could leave the country without his consent. The king was to be the sharer in the profits of any foreign undertaking. A *cedula* or other kind of a grant was necessary, and none of the Spanish expeditions were undertaken without one or without approval afterwards. The two great objects were the gold and silver discovered and the conversion of the heathen Indians. While the latter might be the stronger motive with the king, the hope of gold was the stronger with the adventurers themselves. There was as yet no definite plan of government. What was set up was military rule by a governor and he would subdivide the country on similar principles. Nevertheless, after the first invasion was over, humanity asserted itself, religion enforced its claims, and the cruelty of the first generation changed into a fatherly rule over the natives. So long as tribute was paid to the military, the good *padres* were allowed to look after the civil life of the natives. It will be interesting to note the different ways in which the European races treated the Indians of America. The Spanish began with methods which to modern eyes seem cruel. Natives of Hispaniola were compelled to work in mines and in fields, to which they were not accustomed, and were crushed out of existence. But the Spaniards came to realize that this was wrong from every point of view, and after the first invasions of the continent the Indians learned to love their conquerors, and flourished under Spanish rule. For this much credit must be given to the good Queen Isabella and her successors and to the priests whom they sent out. The priests not only taught the

natives religion, but taught them civilization, and each Catholic mission was surrounded by Indian families, who were not only gardeners, but also learned the different industries which were known in Spain.

7. *Plate Fleets.* Looking at the colonies from the point of view of the government, the chief sign of Spanish rule was the gold and silver sent home as the king's share of the products of a country. In course of time it amounted to millions of dollars and was the basis of the Spanish power in Europe and in world affairs. It was therefore important not only to raise this tribute, but to protect it on its way to Spain. Much came by ships from the Pacific ports of Peru to Panama, and then by mule train overland to the eastern ports, whence it was taken to Spain. The ships sometimes sailed by Havana, sometimes stopped for more silver at Vera Cruz in Mexico. As silver (*plata*) was the particular metal shipped, these fleets came to be known as the Plate Fleets, and were a great temptation to other nations of the day. They had to be guarded by a squadron of armed ships called an *armada*. In every war Spain found her plate fleets attacked, and even in peace pirates or freebooters swooped down upon the Spanish ports in Europe and America. For this reason it was necessary for Spain to guard the entrances to the Gulf of Mexico. The fleet homeward bound followed the course of the Gulf Stream along the coast of Florida, and was protected by Havana on the one side and by Florida on the other. Much of Spanish persistence and severity are to be explained by the strict measures needed to keep other nations out of the Gulf of Mexico. Even within the Gulf the frequent storms and shipwrecks made it important to have refuges for ships, and hence it was that the north coast was explored from time to time with the view of placing colonies at points like the Bay of Spiritu Santo. Making Spain

supreme in America would keep her supreme in Europe, and to effect this the ocean between must be Spanish also. It was the old dream of a world empire, and as a means to this end the Gulf of Mexico was to be made a Spanish lake. This was the work of explorers and sailors during the sixteenth century.

CHAPTER III.

DE SOTO.

1. Hernando De Soto. The most famous of the Spanish explorers was Hernando de Soto. He had been in the conquest of Peru and had married its conqueror's daughter, the

DE SOTO

Donna Isabella de Bobadilla, and became governor of Cuba and *adelantado* of the shadowy realm of Florida. After visiting Cuba, he sailed from Havana in May, 1539, for Florida. What happened between his arrival near Tampa some days later with his five hundred and seventy

soldiers and the arrival in Mexico in 1543 of the half who survived is one of the most romantic stories in history. There are four narratives based on eye witnesses, and in general they agree. When the expedition landed there were besides his men two hundred and twenty-three horses, and thirteen hogs. He is generally credited with artillery, which he did not have, and most historians have forgotten the hogs, which really controlled his speed. De Soto did not keep his fleet with him, but, after having it explore and find a harbor called Achuse towards the west, he sent the ships to Cuba, with instructions to return for him in February of the next year.

2. The Route of De Soto. The narrators give an account of wearisome marches through forests, struggling in marshes, fording rivers, and fighting Indians, but there is little by which to identify the different places. When they crossed a river the writer does not even give an Indian name nor does he often know where it flows. No wonder, therefore, that historians have disputed down to the present as to the route pursued. At least we know that they struck inland, and, after finding an interpreter in Ortiz, a survivor of Narvaez' expedition, they got to Apalache in October. It was there that they wintered and sent Maldonado on his sea expedition. In the spring De Soto struck out northeast and crossed rivers flowing towards the Atlantic, and then turned northwest and passed the Savannah River, not far from where Augusta was to stand. There he robbed the dead of their pearls, and, pursuing his usual plan, took with him as a captive the woman chief, whom the Spaniards, using European titles, called the "queen." The Spaniards had horses, but these were for them to ride on, loaded as they were with iron armor, and the lack of domestic animals had to be made up by using the natives as carriers of burdens (*tamemes*).

This march brought them to the territory of the Chalaques, who would seem to be the Cherokees. In June, 1540, they entered Chiaha, situated on one of the many islands of the river which one writer calls the Spiritu Santo, and were well received. In that fertile walnut country they tarried three weeks. Chiaha would seem to be the Muscogee name for potato and the place was probably in Talladega County; for it was a different country from that of the Chalaques and we know that Chiaha was afterwards the name of the Tallapoosa River. After a while they went on down this river, crossing from side to side and passing several towns, whose names seem to have survived among the later Muscogees. They found pearls of the mussel (Unio) in abundance and sent two soldiers to explore the mountainous province of Chisca, reputed to be rich in gold. In the middle of July they reached the famous town of Cosa, apparently upon the same river, and its chief, clad in fur, came in a litter and welcomed De Soto to the fruit and supplies of his rich country. Then they passed through a number of towns, whose names sound strangely modern, to Talisi, where they spent a week and released the captive chief of Cosa. The towns which now followed were probably Alibamon. The most important village was Humati, and in October they reached a different territory, that of chief Tuscaloosa. Tradition has placed this meeting point in what is now Montgomery County, and from this time we have Choctaw names. The chief was seated on a gallery, his house being on a mound on one side of the public square. He wore a kind of turban about his head, a mantle of feathers reached to his feet, and his emblem was an umbrella bearing a white cross on a black field. Despite this state, De Soto arrested the chief. At Piachi, high above a rocky creek, they came upon traces of Narvaez' expedition, and there crossed what we now

call the Alabama River, which emptied into the Bay of Chuse. Perhaps the place is marked by some of the numerous mounds in our Monroe and Wilcox Counties, and the travellers were certainly not far from Claiborne.

3. Maubila. After crossing the river they marched three days through villages, and then, in a country where chestnuts abounded and the pine is not mentioned, they arrived at the principal city of the Indians, Maubila. Despite the dancing, the Spaniards saw weapons secreted among the palm leaves of the cabins, and Tuscaloosa withdrew himself from custody and refused to come out. The Indians even began to shoot arrows and then occurred the most furious battle of colonial days. Some Spaniards were in a cabin, De Soto and others outside in the town, but most of them were beyond the palisades. The fighting was brave on both sides, but it was mainly by each man for himself. There was not time or opportunity for marshalling forces. At first the Spaniards were nearly driven out, and then De Soto pretended flight, and was able by turning back to kill many of the Indians. The rest were shut up in the town, which the Spaniards set on fire, but they were able to rescue the soldiers who had been left in a cabin. The result of naked bravery against armor and discipline could not be doubtful, and yet one hundred and forty-eight Spaniards were wounded and twenty-two killed, and, worse than this, seven horses were slain, besides twenty-eight injured. One man says that more than twenty arrows were fastened in his cotton armor. The Indian loss was far greater, three thousand being killed, including the son of Tuscaloosa and probably the chief himself, for he was never found. The Spaniards lost all their pearl treasures in the fire and also the chalice, moulds for making wafers, and the wine for the mass, so that, as they put it, they were left like Arabs, completely stripped

of all their hard toil. The priests consulted and came to the conclusion that wheat flour was necessary for the sacrament, and that corn meal could not be used. The best they could do, therefore, was to have the usual prayers and services, but omit the consecration of the mass. This the soldiers called the "dry mass."

4. The Chicaças. Meanwhile Maldonado had reached the rendezvous in the Bay of Chuse, but De Soto would not join him, after having lost everything. He concealed the news, and, after four weeks recuperation, led his men northwest into the wilderness. They passed through swamps and reached a village, shortly afterwards crossed several rivers with Choctaw names, and finally, in the face of hostile Indians, passed over to the Chicaças. They would seem to be near Pontotoc, and there they spent the winter. De Soto suffered from two savage attacks of the Chicaças, which nearly equalled the events at Maubila. It required a long time to make new saddles, lances, and other weapons from the ash trees of the country, for which they set up a forge with bellows of bearskin. Later we find them one time at least in alliance with the Chicaças, for together they attacked the Saccumas, on the Yazoo River between the Choctaws and Chicaças. In the early summer the Spaniards continued their westward march.

5. Death of De Soto. In June, 1541, they crossed the Rio Grande, our Mississippi, with barges at a place near modern Memphis. They were to wander a year longer up and down the Arkansas country, sometimes crossing their own paths, but never finding the gold of which they were in search. De Soto finally returned to the Rio Grande and there on May 21, 1542, died of fever. In order that his body might be protected against the Indians, it was buried by his companions at midnight in the Great River and they escaped down stream.

CHAPTER IV.

LATER DISCOVERERS.

1. Guido de las Bazares. It is passing strange how little impression De Soto's expedition made upon his time. On the many maps which we have we will find Cosa, generally near the Rio del Espiritu Santo, which empties into a two-headed bay, but there seems to be no guess of the importance of that other river which he named Rio Grande and we the Mississippi. Perhaps the fate of Narvaez and De Soto kept other Spaniards from exploring the interior. It was clear that there were no precious metals there, and so the Gulf coast attracted attention only by its harbors. In 1558, however, there was a change, for Velasco, one of the best viceroys of Mexico, explored the coast towards the north for colonization. For this purpose he sent out Bazares with sixty seamen and soldiers in a bark, galley and shallop. They proceeded northwardly from our Vera Cruz and Bazares discovered the islands protecting what we now call Mississippi Sound. In 29½ degrees north latitude he found an island about four leagues from the mainland, and, passing within it, took possession of what he called Bas Fonde, but did not wait to establish a colony. This was probably Pascagoula. Ten leagues further east he passed another island and discovered the largest and most commodious bay on the coast, four or five fathoms deep. It abounded in fish and oysters and was surrounded by forests of pine, oak and cypress and the like, while from the interior came what appeared to be a great river. On the eastern shore were high red hills and he found Indians cultivating maize, beans, and pumpkins. He first called the water Filipina, but afterwards named it for Velasco. This would seem to be the bay

previously called Spiritu Santo by Pineda, and Bazares would therefore be the re-discoverer of Mobile Bay. His object was to select a site for a colony, and, as he had found a suitable place, he now returned to Mexico.

2. The Colony of Tristan. Velasco seems to have acted upon the report of Bazares and in the summer of the next year sent out a fleet with fifteen hundred settlers and soldiers under Tristan de Luna. They landed at Ychuse, which seems to recall Maldonado's report, and is probably the place selected by Bazares. The story of this first Spanish colony is tragic. They thought more of finding gold than of cultivating the soil, and their commander sent an expedition far into the interior of the country. They first came to Nanipacna, possibly at Claiborne, and then to the well known Cosa, in whose fertile territory they were aided by the natives. Indeed, we get a glimpse of aboriginal history, for the Spaniards helped Cosa against the invading Napoches, who were driven across the river Spiritu Santo. The Spaniards finally returned to their settlement at Ychuse, which lasted for two years, despite frequent suffering from storms, hunger, and dissension. One time in celebrating the mass the priest prayed his hearers to love each other as Christ had loved them, and Tristan was so affected as to reconcile himself then and there with an officer who was his enemy. Tristan's followers did not wish to remain as colonists, and so upon the chance visit of a fleet in 1561 they left in a body. Such was the end of the first Spanish colony.

3. Pardo's Expedition. And yet colonization was not at an end. Its sphere was transferred to the Atlantic coast, where the great leader Pedro Menendez massacred the Huguenots on the St. Johns River, and founded St. Augustine to the south and Santa Elena in what is now Carolina to the north. Then Menendez planned to join the

Atlantic colonies with Mexico in the west, so that Florida would be a real province. Accordingly he sent out Juan Pardo on two expeditions. The first was in 1565, when Pardo marched to the northwest and from time to time reached places which remind us of De Soto. Instead of using cruelty, he would gather the chiefs together and persuade them to serve God and the Spanish king, and occasionally he built a fort and left a garrison; but news of movements by the French on the coast soon caused his return. The next year he came back and penetrated farther. He passed Cauchi (probably our Chattahoochee) and reached Tanasqui (probably our Talisi), and then he came to Chiaha, where he remained almost two weeks receiving the submission of the natives in a country which is highly praised in the accounts. Soon Pardo learned that many warriors from the Coza country were marching against him, and so he retraced his steps to the east. This hostility of the natives does not seem to have been due to De Soto, but to war made by one of Pardo's detachments. Pardo built forts at Chiaha, and then upon the Cauchi and at other places on the road to Santa Elena. While Menendez, therefore, did not open a road from the Atlantic to New Spain, he occupied the country as far west as Chiaha, which was said to be fifteen days march from Mexico.

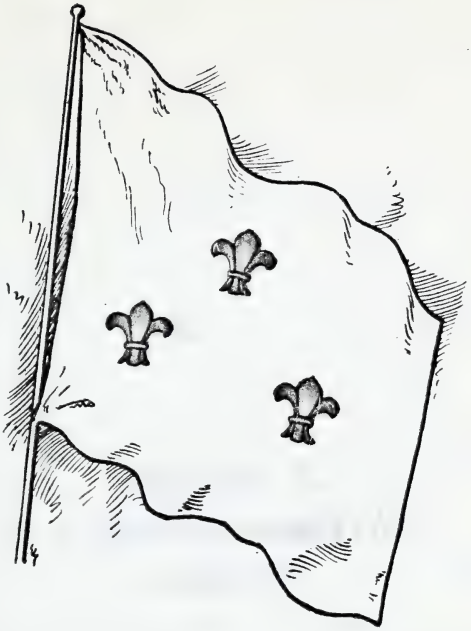
4. *Negro Slavery.* All invaders in history have made the conquered work for them, and America was no exception; but the Spaniard found that the Indians made poor workmen, for they were used to war, not manual labor. On Hispaniola and Cuba they died by the thousand in the mines and fields, and such was their condition that the good Bishop Las Casas out of pity for the Indians advocated the introduction of Africans, who would labor in their stead. This was done in the sixteenth century and was

found to be a paying venture. The Africans were at first captives bought from a conquering African tribe and brought over the ocean to the West Indies. Soon the custom of slavery spread to the mainland and to the possessions of other countries. The reason for the practice was that sugar, cotton, tobacco and rice, which are produced in warm climates, require large plantations and call for work under the hot sun, which is fatal to Europeans, but natural to Africans. In course of time the labor of the western Spanish possessions became confined to the negroes. The first African slaves ever in the South were those in the train of Narvaez, and there were some with all the later Spanish expeditions.

5. The Spanish Provinces. While the first explorations had been marked by cruelty, actual colonization from time to time of Menendez was of a different character. One of the principal objects was conversion of the Indians, and the strong hold which the Spaniards obtained upon the natives shows the zeal of the *padres* in the vast province of Florida. At the same time the search for gold was not neglected, and the yellow and red of the Spanish flag is said to represent the gold and blood of Spanish history. Numerous old mines and shafts in the mountains of what we call Carolina and Georgia still show what the Spaniards accomplished there. This could not have been done without peaceful relations with the Indians, and it shows the result of the expeditions and garrisons. Few details have come down to us, but we know that the Spaniards were able to map out Gulf and Atlantic provinces with definite names. Pineda, De Soto, Bazares, Tristan and Pardo had not labored in vain, for they had led the way. "Panzacola" near Mobile Bay was one province, and others extended around the peninsula and even up to Chesapeake Bay; but it would seem that the Alabama-Tombigbee

Basin was not included in any of the Spanish provinces, and the Mississippi River was forgotten.

It was all Indian country still, but the Europeans had obtained a foothold from which it would be hard for the natives to dislodge them. It might be, indeed, that this was only the beginning of European influence in America.



FRENCH FLAG

(Eighteenth Century)

PERIOD II.
A FRENCH CAPITAL
1699-1717

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CHAPTER V.

OLD BILOXI.

1. France Under Louis XIV. While Mexico and Peru were sending their gold to Spain, and the Spaniards were civilizing the Indians of Florida and making themselves more humane, there were growing up in Europe two powers which aimed to take away the Spanish leadership. The one was Anglo-Saxon England, whose power increased on the sea as her sailors learned their trade as pirates in the West Indies or slavers on the African coast. And there was France, which united Teutonic energy with Latin culture, and waxed stronger on land as Spanish victories wore out the victors themselves. Spain had known no Reformation, while France had been rent between the Catholics and the Hugenots until wise monarchs and able ministers learned to make a civil unit out of two religious parties. From the Low Countries to the northeast France learned many new industries, and from Italy learned the arts, until under Louis XIV canals and roads made France the leading country of Europe and her white flag with golden lilies was honored everywhere. She became able to send out colonies early in the seventeenth century, although she had failed before, and Quebec, Montreal and Acadia soon made her a power in the north as Jamestown, Boston and New York had made England a power in the south.

2. La Salle. As the Canadian wood rangers (*Coureurs de Bois*) discovered the Great Lakes and brought furs down the St. Lawrence, French influence became supreme among the northern Indians. Rumors came of a great river flowing southward and a Canadian trader and a Canadian priest rowed upon the waters of the Mississippi.

And a man even greater than they, Cavelier de La Salle, went down to its mouth, passing over the unknown spot where De Soto lay buried, and in 1682 on some dry spot near the Gulf of Mexico took possession of the whole Mississippi Valley for the King of France. The discoverer found no Spaniards and the Indians were not hostile, for now, as ever after, the French, unlike the Spaniards, were to live in harmony and alliance with the aborigines. At Paris La Salle told his story, and great men of science and great men of the court were equally interested. There was not only to be a Louisiana named for the King, but a colony, and La Salle was sent back to establish it. But the Mississippi was so little known to the Spaniards who came after De Soto that it got the name of Hidden River, and even La Salle now missed its mouth and landed his colony far off in our Texas. Nor was this all. That country was unfavorable, for the wandering Indians, unlike the ones of settled habits to the east, were hostile and while seeking relief for his colonists La Salle himself was killed in a mutiny. What became of the colony is uncertain, but either Spaniards or Indians put an end to it, and only the companions of La Salle escaped overland to Canada. There and in France gloom took the place of the joyous expectation with which he had been sent out. And if the French had failed, on the other hand the British at this very time built Charleston in order to claim the South and its Indians.

3. The French Missionaries. It seemed as if the natives were right in thinking the great river was guarded by spirits. The Indian religious belief was Animisn, that is to say, it saw a soul in everything. To them the trees, the winds, the rivers were all inhabited by spirits, some of whom were good and some of whom were evil, but the favor of all had to be sought by gifts of food or valuable things or by

the sufferings of the worshippers. A Great Spirit was supposed to preside over all, but the nature of the belief was vague and the form of worship varied in different places. Sometimes it was accompanied by sacrifice of human victims, and everywhere it was of a nature to shock Christians. A zeal for missions had long prevailed in the Catholic church, and was to show itself strongly in America. The crucifix was the symbol of mercy, and the rites of the church were to be put in place of the native superstitions. We have seen how each Spanish expedition was accompanied by Dominicans or other monks, who ministered to the religious needs of the soldiers, and how after Spanish conquest was completed the *Padres* softened the Spanish rule. Some of these missions were to grow into towns and all were of a settled nature. The natives clustered around the churches and were taught civilization as well as religion. None of the Spanish fathers, however, came further north than a few points in Texas and none came further west than the peninsula of Florida. The Catholic church was sincerely aiming at the conversion of the Indians and the French priests took up the work where the Spanish had left off. There was a difference of method in that the French missionaries went to live among the Indians themselves, whether these were Hurons on their lake, or the Yazoos on the Mississippi. The French priests aimed less at taming the Indians than at converting their souls, and we do not find their religious outposts becoming the centres of civilization. Some of the religious orders were themselves founded for missionary work and special centres of mission activity grew up in Europe. The missionaries of St. Sulpice in Paris really founded Montreal and the Seminary of Quebec was the headquarters of French missions in America. It would be hard to say whether the French wood rangers penetrated

the interior earlier or went farther than the missionaries. The object of the priests was to benefit the Indians, the object of the rangers was to make money out of them, but both learned to love the life of the woods and ever went deeper into the wilds. Several of the Quebec missionaries were early upon the Mississippi River and one of the best known was Davion. He raised his cross upon a rock among

FRENCH SHIPS

the Tunica Indians and kept his relics and altar articles in a hollow tree nearby. There were others like him, but Davion came to be as dear to the Southern Frenchman as Father Felician was to the Acadians in Longfellow's story of Evangeline.

4. *Iberville's Expedition.* If one Canadian died it was not long before others were inspired to take up his task in colonizing the greatest valley in America. The descendants of an innkeeper of Dieppe in France had become one

of the leading families not only of Montreal but of the New World; for Le Moyne D'Iberville had won so many victories in Hudson Bay and in the Atlantic as to attract attention everywhere. When peace came with England in 1697 both countries looked toward colonization of the Gulf and the French minister Maurepas selected Iberville for the task. He sailed from Brest in 1698 with a fleet made up of the Badine and Marin, accompanied by transports. The French had already acquired from the Spaniards a firm footing in the West Indies, and Cap François in San Domingo was their chief port. There the squadron was joined by the corvette François, and, sailing northwest, in the last days of January, 1699, they found Pensacola in Spanish possession. Proceeding westwardly on January 31 they cast anchor off the cape which we now call Mobile Point. Iberville and his brother Bienville explored the mainland, sounded the channels, and were weatherbound on the island nearby. This they named Massacre from the heap of skulls and bones found, with the Indian utensils, near the western end. They afterwards explored the west side of Mobile Bay, which we call Mon Louis Island, and discovered a good harbor near Massacre Island. They visited and named the islands as they passed, and sailed on west to discover the Mississippi River, which La Salle had missed. There was no place in that marshy country suitable for settlers, and so Iberville placed on the Back Bay of Biloxi, just above the present railroad bridge, the temporary seat of his colony.

5. *Fort Maurepas.* Iberville returned to France and left an efficient substitute as governor in the person of Sauvole. The fort, named Maurepas for the minister, became the centre of the French influence on the Gulf. Chickasaw, Choctaw, and coast chiefs came thither to make alliance with the French. Bienville visited them in

return and like his brother explored the whole tributary district from the Mobile to the Mississippi River. The Spaniards of Pensacola protested, but in vain. The log fort and its cannon remained. Louis XIV never lowered the French flag when he had once set it up, unless to carry it farther. Just as on the Rhine he annexed by what he called "reunions" different provinces to France, so on the Gulf, Biloxi was to be a stepping-stone to Mobile.

6. Colonial Life. Of civil life there was not much at Biloxi. The principal element was the military, for there were few families and the settlement was not intended to be permanent. Indeed there was little to encourage agriculture in the sands of Biloxi. Fertile spots could be found by the creeks, which the French, adapting the Choctaw word "bok," called "Bayous," but the soil in general was not responsive. No town was laid out, no houses built except a few for military purposes in and about the log fort. The civil population was hardly a score, while the miltary numbered several hundred. There was homesickness, for it took a long time for Iberville to go to Europe and return, and the summer brought other sickness too. With fevers came death and even the active and cultured Sauvole surrendered to the last enemy. Except the official reports of Iberville, Sauvole's charming journal was the first literary production of the South. While we regret his loss, he was to have an able successor in Bienville.

7. Louisiana and America. There might be suffering and there might be backsets, but here was a French colony on the Gulf of Mexico, backed by Louis XIV, the greatest King of that day. It not only separated the Spanish provinces of Florida and Mexico, but it was the seaport for the Mississippi and the Alabama-Tombigbee Basins, now called Louisiana. The interval of peace with England gave opportunity to France for colonization and the interest of

Frenchmen in the new province was intense. Churchmen thought of the conversion to Christianity of the many Indian tribes, commercial men of the opportunity for bringing raw material of all kinds to France for manufacture, statesmen of the possibility of building up on the Mississippi a province, which, uniting through the Great Lakes with Canada, would make an empire not only worthy of Louis XIV, but one which would ultimately force the English colonists back into the ocean. All France united in the dream of gold mines and in the hope, that, by uniting with the Spanish colonies, the whole continent would come under Latin influence.

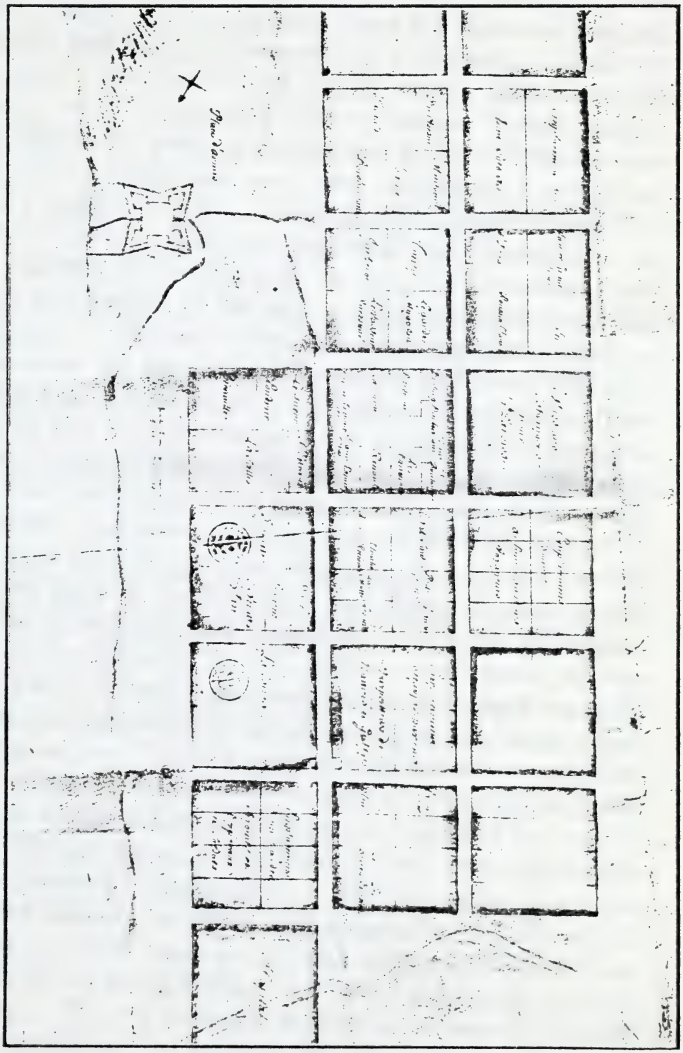
CHAPTER VI.

FORT LOUIS DE LA MOBILE.

1. Exploring the Coast. French writers spread information among the educated classes of the day, and the efforts of the renegade priest Hennepin to interest England reacted by creating a stronger interest in France. Biloxi, therefore, became the centre for exploration of the Mississippi Valley and of the whole Gulf country. The bay was too shallow for a permanent capital and the harbor between Dauphine and Pelican Islands was thought to be the solution of that question, while the large maize and vegetable crops cultivated in the lowlands of Mobile River offered a permanent food supply.

In this interesting country they found several small tribes, such as the Tohomes and Naniabas about the junction of the Alabama and Tombigbee, and, further down, the more influential Mobilians, near what we call Mt. Vernon Landing. The tradition was that these were a remnant of the people who had fled after De Soto's battle at Maubila, and were of the same stock with some who lived on the east side of the lower Alabama River. Their dialect was still the Southern trade jargon.

Of special interest to us was the exploration about Mobile Bay and here light is thrown by the first Mobile writer Penicaut, "the literary ship carpenter." He does not tell us that Bayou La Batré was named for a battery which was built at that point, but calls it for a Frenchman lost there. Cedar Point they named Oyster Point for the abundant oysters; Dog and Fowl Rivers he mentions, but we have to guess that they were named for Indian dogs and for wild fowl; the Indians had no domestic fowls. The site of the present Mobile is not described except by



FORT LOUIS DE LA MOBILE, 1702

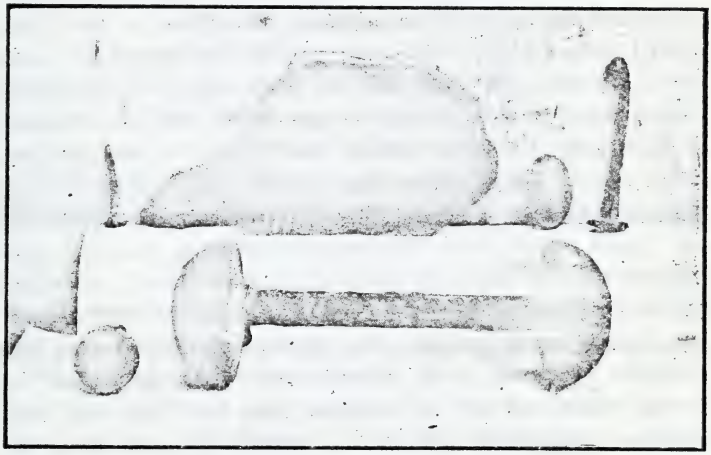
the mention of bayous above it, to which Penicaut gives names which were superseded later by Bayou Marmotte (weasel) and Bayou Chateaugué for the sailor brother of Bienville. Nor was this all, for all natural features of this country were in course of time to receive French names. The Spaniards were at Pensacola, but the French were ever better diplomats, and were displacing Spanish influence along the coast. Iberville met protest against the Biloxi settlement with the argument that it would be to the interest of the Spanish to give up Pensacola too. Much was learned of the new country from priests of the Seminary of Quebec, who had long been stationed as missionaries on the lower Mississippi, and from Henri de Tonty, who had been with La Salle and now came from the rock fort on the Illinois River to see his compatriots. He was the most distinguished of many. The woodrangers from the Mississippi threatened to turn much of the trade of Canada southward to the Gulf. The Munchausen of that day, Mathieu Sagean, was sent out by the French court to help in explorations, but Bienville soon found that his knowledge was imaginary. Iberville planned a great re-arrangement of the Indian tribes south of the Great Lakes, by which he would make the French supreme in America, and while he lived something was done. But to carry out such plans a more central capital was needed.

2. Moving. While Iberville was in Louisiana in 1701 he made his plans for establishing the capital of the colony on the Mobile River, and in France they were sanctioned by the minister Pontchartrain. Iberville came back in a squadron bearing colonists and many things with which to start them off, such as Spanish sheep, a stallion from France, and cattle, horses and swine taken on at San Domingo. He was seriously ill with an abscess in his side at Pensacola in December, 1701, and from there next

month directed the abandonment of Biloxi and the transfer of everything to Massacre Island, for resettlement up the river. The Spaniards loaned him small vessels for the move from Biloxi, while Nicholas de La Salle, a different kind of man from his kinsman, came over from Pensacola. It amounted to a complete abandonment of Biloxi, for no regular garrison remained there, and everything was transported by rafts or boats through the Sound to the inner harbor about the shell mounds of Massacre Island. The main port, however, lay on the south side of the island, on the deep channel leading from the Gulf into the Bay, and there a port, afterwards called Dauphin, was established. It was to last a long time, but at present was principally a means to an end, for, on January 10, 1702, Bienville with his brother Serigny and others left in three boats to occupy Mobile, "sixteen leagues off on the second bluff." There on the rise which we now know as Twenty-Seven Mile Bluff the French built the first capital of Louisiana. This was to consist of a fort and a town, and the first thing they constructed was a powder magazine near the bank of the river. The trees were cut down to form a clearing for the settlement and the clay of the vicinity was burned in long flat bricks for building purposes. The magazine filled with water from constant rains, but nevertheless the work went on. Some distance back a well was dug. In the middle of the parade ground nearby they erected a fort and surrounded it with a moat.

3. Laying Off the Town. The town was built north and west of the fort, and it was a remarkable town for those days. All other colonial settlements of that time were surrounded by walls to protect them against the natives, but the town called *Fort Louis de La Mobile* had no fear of the Indians. It was built between the fort and the forest whence the Indians would come and stretched from

a bayou on the north to beyond the fort on the south. A map of 1702 shows a front street along the river bank and two streets further west, and seven streets ran at right angles to them. Between the hospital and the creek at the one end of the town and the home of soldiers at the other were the houses of the different officers and settlers, among whom were carpenters and mechanics as well as military men. Canadians and *voyageurs* occupied a



FRENCH RELICS, 1702

western block alongside one dedicated to the missionaries of the parish. The principal public institutions, therefore, besides the fort were the hospital and the mission.

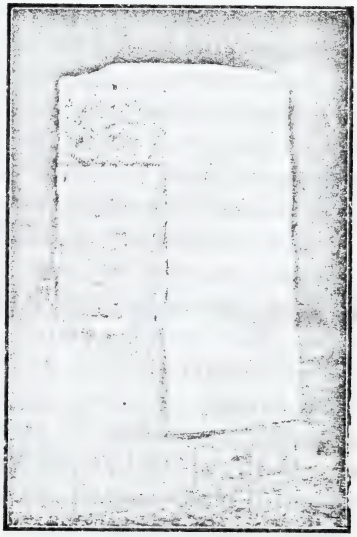
4. Fort Louis Completed. The new city was to suffer various fortunes, but for a while at least it rose superior to them all. A second map seems to date from about 1706, and by then, despite the yellow fever scourge of 1704, the city had had a remarkable growth. The hospital was no longer on the bayou, but in its place was a pleasure

resort, while not far to the west were the seminary priests with their house, having a chimney in the middle and a gallery in front, and nearby was the cemetery. Corresponding in the southwest part of town was the market place surrounding the well, and in front on the river was the fort, now moved somewhat northwestward of its first location. North and south streets had increased to four, those running east and west to seven or eight. They now have names, but in quite the usual fashion these names are those of prominent people who lived on the thoroughfares. We may well believe that Royal, St. Charles, Conti, Dauphin, St. Louis and the like were the official names. South of the fort there was a square of land reserved for the king, and a larger tract further down stream belonged to Bienville, which would lend some color to the complaint later made that the governor did not fail to look after his own interests as well as those of the king. La Salle had a front lot next to Iberville near the fort and the Jesuits were across the street. All over town were familiar and interesting characters, and among them should not be forgotten that monumental liar, Mathieu Sagean. The fort itself had four bastions; in the northeast floated the great flag of France. The fort contained, perhaps, more properly speaking, was made up of long one story houses behind the palisades and one unusual feature was that the western side consisted entirely of a church. At the north end was the main entrance under a steeple surmounted by a weathervane, which represented the Gallic cock, and the other end was crowned by some lower ornament. The church had on the fort side some four windows and two doors. Not only had the fort been moved, but the powder magazine also, for that is now near the river bank at the north end of town, and adjoining the brickyard at the intersection of the river and the creek. We

do not know of any wards, but there were three well defined districts, grouped about the Seminary, the Fort and the Market, with a population all told of several hundred people. To the north lay a vast pine forest, while to the west between the town and the pines was a marsh, through which passed a highway leading to the farms, mills and other industries which grew up nearby. The main thoroughfare, to the Indian country as well as to the sea, was Mobile River. French colonization had now got a firm foothold in America.

5. French and English Colonists. Colonization has had different objects and it so happened that Spain, who was first in the field, chose one of only temporary value. Columbus had stumbled on America on his way to India, but the Spaniards found so much gold and silver in South America and Mexico that they were willing enough to leave India to be fought for by the Portugese, French and English. Even in North America, Spain, through De Soto and others, explored rather than colonized. The idea of developing colonies for the benefit of the colonists was left for our day, but that of developing products to be manufactured for the home market was dawning upon the French and English although it did not upon the Spaniards. Possibly that country will win in the long run as a colonizer which has the largest surplus population. England and France settled Virginia and Canada at almost the same time, for French Quebec in 1606 was only one year ahead of English Jamestown. Then followed an interesting rivalry in colonization and over a century and a half were to pass before the result was decided. Virginia was a commercial venture, Massachusetts a few years later was a religious experiment, while Canada was not a popular but a royal effort. England took her third colonial step in colonizing on the old French ground of Carolina, just

when the French La Salle made his famous *prise de possession* at the mouth of the Mississippi River. English colonization was confined to the Atlantic coast, and expanded in a gradual advance as county or township was settled; the French colonization began in the occupation



Bi-Centennial Monument at Old Fort Louis

of the St. Lawrence basin by a nobility who settled their lands with retainers.

6. The Rival Capitals. The French had Quebec in the north, and they were now in the south to establish another seat of empire, and two features stand out. With the French there was better leadership, for Champlain in the north and Iberville in the south were greater names than the British colonizers furnished. Again, the French

penetrated farther and acquired a greater influence over the natives than did the English yeomen, who hugged the coast and stayed close together. Perhaps the national characteristics of brilliancy and pluck were pitted against each other. The British had the advantage in numbers and in centres; for there were when Mobile was founded not only Boston and Williamsburg, which had succeeded Plymouth and Jamestown, but conquered New Amsterdam and pacific Philadelphia between, and the new Charleston was becoming a strong centre of influence. Against those could be opposed by the French only Quebec and Montreal in the north and Mobile in the south; but they controlled the greatest river basins in America, were united in spirit, and were wielded by the greatest king of modern times.

The rivalry was not unequal and the building of the southern capital was but carrying out the plan to make a greater New France. There might be a choice between their institutions, but new conditions might modify them. If France could spare as many people as England, and the colonies of both races multiplied equally, there would be a New England on the Atlantic, and a New France occupying the St. Lawrence and Mississippi Valleys. In the working out of this lies the import of the story of Louisiana and her first capital.

CHAPTER VII.

LIFE AT THE OLD FORT.

1. Government. Under Louis XIV everything and everybody looked to the king and it was not without reason that he chose the sun as his emblem. He was in many senses of the word a great king, for not only was his court magnificent, and his army the finest in Europe, but many of his ministers were great men. This was true of Colbert, whose peaceable policy of commerce and canals was the basis upon which the warlike policy of Louvois was able to act. Even the French church was subject to the king rather than to the Pope, and all its registers were marked and issued by his officers, whether in France or in the colonies. The old nobility, which had its foothold and power in the several provinces of France, he attracted to his court at Versailles, and, while they were nominally his agents, the real civil power in all districts was exercised by the *intendants* whom he appointed from the middle ranks of life. And what was true in France was even truer in the colonies. The governor of Louisiana was the royal military agent, and financial and property affairs were attended to by an officer called the *commissaire*, who took the place of the *intendant* and later had the title. At first, the governor supervised everything, even the *commissaire*, and this arrangement lasted during the time Mobile was capital. The duties of *commissaire* were performed by La Salle, although perhaps at first he was only *garde magasin*, keeper of the stores. Everyone was responsible to the Minister of Colonies and Marine, and the *commissaire* esteemed it his duty to act as spy upon the governor and report on him to this minister. There was constant collision and some disorder, and the

more so as the *commissaire* got the priest or *cure* to join with him. The first priest was Davion, who was a missionary from the Mississippi River, but in 1704 the regular *cure* arrived in the person of La Vente. He began the registers of church affairs and to these we owe much of our knowledge of the times. In 1702 what is called the War of the Spanish Succession broke out in Europe, with France and Spain on the one side and England and the Empire on the other. Louis had allowed the navy created by Colbert to run down, and the result was that England was soon mistress of the ocean. Many French ships were captured and few, therefore, could bring supplies and instructions to Mobile. Iberville was the mainspring of the colonial enterprise, but he could not come or even send with any regularity, and in 1706, while planning a blow against the British West Indies, he was taken sick with yellow fever and died at Havana. Bienville was therefore in fuller authority than he otherwise would have been, and whatever credit or discredit was connected with the administration was due to him.

BIENVILLE

After the death of Iberville, La Salle and La Vente complained more freely of Bienville, although the governor was well defended in his own reports and by visitors.

Nevertheless, two years later a new governor was sent out; but he died at Havana also, and so in point of fact Bienville was not superseded. La Salle's place was taken by D'Artaguette, who remained in authority for a long while. An incident of this time was his attempt to change the name of Mobile to Immobile, as being somewhat more stable. This did not succeed, but D'Artaguette did change the name of the island at the mouth of the Bay from Massacre to Dauphine Island.

2. Indian Wars. Indian relations took the place of what we call foreign affairs. Bienville succeeded early in making friends with several tribes. In 1704, for instance, he brought the Tensaws from the other side of the Mississippi after their defeat by neighboring tribes, and settled them near his fort. About the same time the Apalaches fled to him from Florida to escape the destructive inroads from the British of South Carolina, and Bienville placed them also nearby. The same was true of what is supposed to be a branch of the Choctaws, although the French spell their names Chattos, whom Bienville settled at the place ever since called Choctaw Point. But relations with all Indians were not friendly. This was true on the Mississippi, where two missionaries were murdered, which led to severe reprisals by the French and the bringing of a number of Indian children as slaves to Mobile. It was also true nearer home, for, while the Choctaws and even Chickasaws were amicable, the tribes up the Alabama River showed a hostile spirit. They were very likely influenced by the Carolina traders, for these men, generally Scotchmen, had heretofore sold goods from the Atlantic to the Mississippi and wanted to drive the Frenchmen out. We find war as early as 1702, the year the fort was built, and also two years later, when a party was sent to buy provisions from the Alibamons. The French were

ambushed and all killed except one, who swam the river and brought the news. Bienville organized an expedition to avenge the murder, and there was the usual black drink of youpon leaves, and the dance around the red posts set up by the river bank, and then French and Indians went up the river in canoes. The Mobilians notified the Alibamons and finally deserted with the Choctaws, so that Bienville had to come back with the soldiers. But not daunted he went up the river again with French alone, found the hostile village and destroyed it and some few warriors. This was only a partial success, but it prevented serious war for several years. The Choctaws and Chickasaws themselves came to blows and the French had the mortification of seeing a Chickasaw, whom French soldiers were conducting home, murdered by the Choctaws. Bienville himself kept out of this war.

The colonists were very friendly with both neighbors and there had been for some time a little French boy named St. Michel among the Chickasaws to learn their language.

In 1708 came the most serious Indian war of all. The Alibamons were again at the bottom of the hostilities, but with them were the Cheraquis, the Abecas, and the Cadapouces. The last were probably Tallapoosas, and the Abecas were the northernmost Muscogee tribe. It would seem, therefore, that this alliance embraced the three principal Upper Creek tribes and even the Cherokees. It proved more threatening than effectual, for, as so often in Indian wars, the expedition abandoned its purpose before reaching its destination. They burned the cabins of the Mobile Indians and retired without attacking the fort. This inroad showed the great danger from the Indians who lay as a buffer up on the watershed between the French upon the Gulf and the British upon the Atlantic.

There was no more actual warfare for a time, but the hostility of the Alibamons long continued. Chateaugué captured nine of their warriors near Pensacola and brought them to Fort Louis, where they were tomahawked and thrown into the river.

3. What the Pelican Brought. The colonists often suffered from lack of supplies when the ships did not come regularly, and none were more welcome than the *Renommee* —the Renowned—which was Iberville's ship. There was a vessel in 1703, but the Pelican which arrived in 1704 was the most famous of them all. She seems to have been named for the ship in which Iberville won a great victory from the British in Hudson Bay, and, but for sickness, Iberville would have come out himself. With the foresight which marked everything he undertook, he sent supplies by the Pelican, and twenty-three girls as wives for the colonists. They were certainly married in a short time with the exception of one, who tradition says was not pleased with the colony or with the prospective husbands. There is reason to believe that all were promptly married, however, and from them were descended many of the leading families of the colony. Their names occur frequently through future years in the church records as mothers, god-mothers and witnesses. There were besides two families with children, one hundred soldiers in two companies, and three missionaries.

But there came also by the Pelican yellow fever, the first visitation, and, in proportion to the size of the town, probably the most fatal. Half the crew of the vessel, thirty soldiers, one of the priests, several of the officers, and the great explorer Henri de Tonty died in September, 1704. In that summer, therefore, were twenty-three marriages and about forty deaths. The one little church making up the west side of the fort saw very different

ceremonies all within a short time, and among the dead in the little cemetery by the river side lie the victims of this epidemic and in their midst Tonty, one of the great men of America.

4. Trades, Food and Dwellings. It is interesting always to know of a community what its people do, what they live on, and where they live. In this first Mobile the trades were to some extent military. The names of officers are often mentioned, as captains, sergeants, cannoneers, ensigns, and cadets. We have the trades of gunsmith, tool-sharpener, storekeeper, locksmith, pilot, and tradesmen, carpenters and cabinet makers. Hunters and fishermen there were in abundance, for almost all hunted and fished; but the colony was yet military.

The French in the time of Louis XIV were accustomed to good eating and one of the hardships of colonial life, especially from the woman's point of view, was the frequent lack of French food. Maize was the Indian staple, cooked whole as hominy, or ground into meal, and for vegetables there were peas, beans, and melons, besides strawberries, pecans, walnuts, and other nuts and fruits, black grapes, scuppernongs, peaches in their season, but pears, oranges and even figs were of a somewhat later day. The great national dish of France was soup, and it seems that this was equally true in Mobile. *Gumbo file*, made of ground sassafras leaves by the Indians, goes back to colonial times, and of course oysters and fish were known from the first. Flesh was easily obtained, for bear and deer abounded and were familiar dishes, as were chickens, turkeys, and eggs. Coden on the coast is but an improper way of spelling *Coq d'Inde* (turkey gobbler.)

The streets of the little town were narrow, not being over thirty feet wide, and the lots about seventy-five feet wide by three times that in depth. There was no stone near Mobile

and brick was not common at first, so that the usual way of building a house was to drive cedar pilings into the ground and fill up between with mortar. The roof sloped to the front and to the rear, projecting over somewhat so as to form a covering. The floor timbers also came out in front, and made what was called a gallery,—a term which came to Mobile from Canada and has remained as marking one of the French institutions.

5. The First Directory. The French colonist in Canada would call himself a *habitant*, and the French brought this term to Louisiana. The word grew to have a definite meaning and was long preserved. Gradually, however, another word came in which superseded it,—the name Creole, probably introduced from the French West Indies. It really means native and could probably be applied even to vegetables and animals. It gradually became the real name of inhabitants in Mobile and Louisiana who sprang from persons born in France. In course of time, as we shall see, the expression First Creole became quite a mark of honor, being applied to the oldest native. The first *Creole* in fact was Jean François, the son of Jean Le Camp, born and baptized October 4, 1704. We can easily imagine that his birth was an event which broke some of the gloom caused by the epidemic of the preceding month.

The term Creole should not be limited to those of negro extraction, but is broad enough to include mulattoes of French origin born in Louisiana. It is not quite certain when the first negroes came. They were slaves and very likely came from San Domingo, where negro slavery had been copied from the Spanish. Possibly the first mentioned was the little seven year old Jean Baptiste, who belonged to Bienville in 1707, and there were a number of others at that time. Probably the first negro birth was October

26, 1707, when Anthoine was born of a negro woman belonging to Bienville and a man belonging to Chateaugué. Among the odd names were those of two negroes—Good Times and Spanish Wine. Mulattoes were somewhat rare, but we hear of more of them later. A cross between the French and Indian was called *Mestif*, but these were even rarer. There were many *Mestifs* from the marriages of woodrangers with Indian women, but they did not get into the church registers. The woodrangers became more Indian than the women became French, and far a while the church frowned on such unions.

From the maps and church registers a directory of the town could be compiled; for the second map gives the names of lot-owners. The town could be divided into three districts—one to the north, extending from the river to the cemetery, the second being that about Place Royale, as it was called, extending westwardly to the woods; while the third would be that around the well and extending from there to the river. In the first district there were a number of well known residents, but few officials except the Seminary priests to the west and the Jesuits, who faced the river. In the second facing or near the fort were La Salle, Iberville, Boisbrillant, Girard the pilot, and others. The market district was less populous. St. Denis and Juchero faced the square, but the population was mainly of private citizens.

The streets were called for the prominent residents upon them, and in this way their names changed every block or two, quite as in Paris. The three running west from the Place Royale were called Serigny, Boisbrillant and Iberville. One further south was named for Bienville, and one further north for La Salle. Those running north and south were also called for well known citizens, but two of them had also the names of St. François and

St. Joseph, and the remaining one running from the market place was called for the Seminary which faced it. There was a wide space along the river bluff to which the maps affix no name; but there can be little doubt, that, being really a continuation of the Place Royale, it was called Royal Street, and was the predecessor of the Royal Street

CREOLE HOUSES

of later Mobile. All told, soldiers and *habitans*, it may well be that the town of Fort Louis de la Mobile had a population of about five hundred people.

6. An Overflow. There was often trouble from lack of supplies and it was necessary several times to send some of the colonists to stay with the friendly Indians. One party went across the Bay to Fish River, and Penicaut gives a charming account of how another lived with the Indians on the coast. This was partly for policy, as the war in Europe had cut off the supplies which Bienville used as presents to the Indians, but it was partly also from necessity. To other troubles was now added over-

flow of the river. This could hardly have been anticipated, and yet every now and then the same thing occurs at this point. Twenty-Seven Mile Bluff is never completely submerged, but sometimes the river rose sufficiently to drown out corn of the friendly Indians on the bottoms, and in March, 1711, came a flood which put the town itself under water for some days. The district about the fort was not much disturbed, although for a little while water was even in the fort. In the lower quarters the houses were flooded even up to the comb of the roof, and it lasted for about a month, to the distress of everyone.

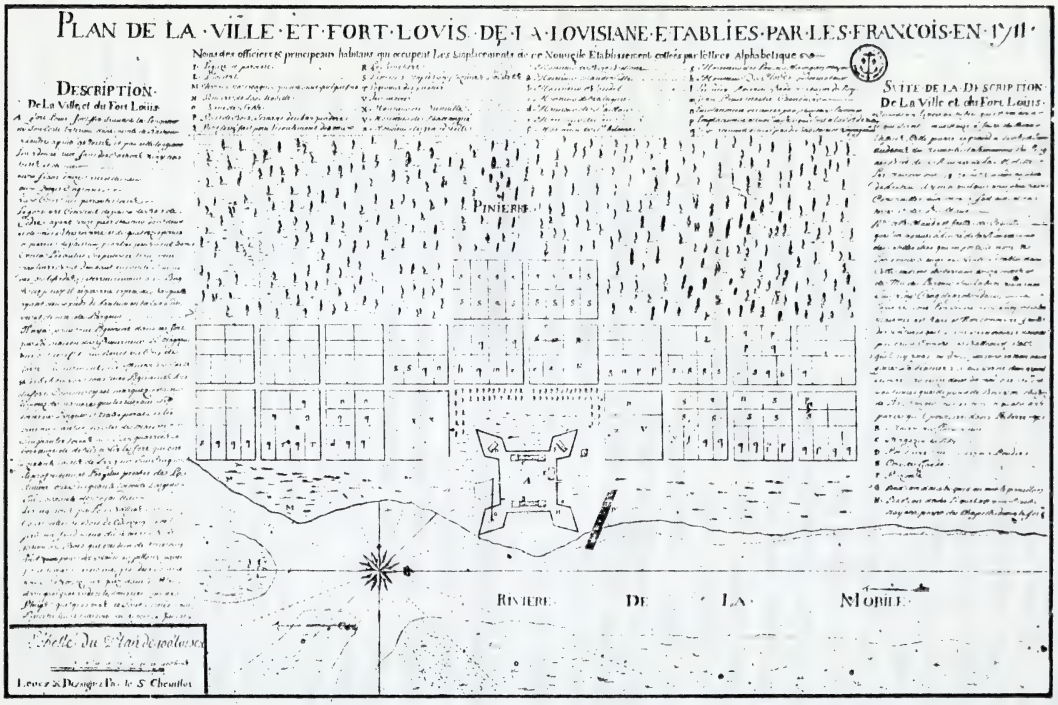
As Bienville, Grondel, and the *cure* stood at the front of the fort and looked out, they saw only desolation. The river was like a yellow sea. It is true that the trees were there, even on the low islands in front of them; but they were submerged up to their forks or higher, and only the fort and some houses in the upper parts of town were out of water. And they now learned, that, although this flood was unusual, such high water had been known before. What was to be done?

CHAPTER VIII.

MOBILE.

1 Building Again. For a month the flood continued. The people were huddled together in the fort and in the few houses which were not overflowed, or were scattered on the highlands, miles inland. There was difficulty in providing food and lodgings, but the more serious question was a permanent location for the colony. At the mouth of the river the delta was so wide, that, although the water overflowed the marsh islands, it did not reach the top of a plain which ran along the west bank, and many united in asking that the town be moved to this site. Bienville had put some fugitive Choctaws in the open pine forests there, and the point where the Bay joined the river has ever since been called Choctaw Point; but he pursuaded them to move around to Dog River, and, with the *commissaire*, agreed to the request of the people. The old fort was now half rotten and they could rebuild on the new site as readily as on the old, and moreover the new location would bring the capital closer to the port at Dauphine island, and still remain in touch with the Indians in the interior. Major Paillou was placed in charge and soon had an open space cleared on the river bank between Choctaw Point and Bayou Marmotte at a place where the river makes a turn to the southwest. Here as fort would command up and down stream as at the old site, and here their New Fort Louis, as it was called, was built, of cedar palisades. As well as can be ascertained, the point where the beginning was made was that now marked by the Bicentennial tablet on the present City Hall. The west side of the fort ran about on the line of Royal Street from Church to Eslava, for the north line

of the fort was near our Church Street. The fort was square, but had a bastion projecting at each corner. Of these the eastern extended almost to modern Commerce Street, and in the one upstream was placed a bell for church and other signals, while the one downstream held the great square flag of gold lilies upon a white field. The western bastions extended almost to St. Emanuel Street, and in one was the powder magazine and in the other the prison. About the fort was an esplanade, as up the river, extending several hundred feet in each direction, except that the marshy river bank ran close before the fort and all along in front of the town. A cedar wharf was built above the fort, beginning a little east of the intersection of our Government and Royal, and there the cannon and goods of the old fort were landed from rafts and boats. The river bank was called a quay, and at high tide the water came up almost to the front street, so that at least at that time there was ample depth for the shipping of the day. The fort was built first, probably in May, 1711. When the floods subsided many of the *habitans* decided to spend the summer in the old town, but then they moved down, their heavier goods coming on rafts, and the people and household effects in canoes and pirogues. Before they all came the town had been laid off by Paillou, four blocks north of the fort and four blocks south of it, all extending two blocks from the river, except that, as the fort projected somewhat into the town, the square west of it extended farther into the piney woods. There were about thirty other squares marked out through the forest, but for the present they were not needed. Gradually the old town and Old Fort Louis were deserted, and the new town and New Fort Louis occupied. The old place had been known as Mobile, and the new was to take that name and hold it forever, the only Mobile in the world.


PLAN DE LA VILLE ET FORT LOVIS DE LA LOVISIANE ETABLIES PAR LES FRANCOIS EN 1711
DESCRIPTION
De La Ville et du Fort Louis
SUITE DE LA DESCRIPTION
De La Ville et du Fort Louis
PINIERE
RIVIERE DE LA MOBILE

MOBILE, 1711

2. The New Town. In the new fort were quarters for the guard, but the garrison who were not on duty lived in bark huts or more substantial houses along the western margin of the town, particularly in the blocks from our Government Street down to Monroe. The citizens lived in the town and were arranged much as they had been up the river. The blocks were as they are now, with the exception that St. Michael Street is about 100 feet further south than the north boundary of the old French city and that south of the fort the French blocks were about 300 feet long. At present they are much longer. We have a map of Mobile in 1711, preserved in the colonial offices at Paris, but it does not give the names of any streets. We can rely upon the names now existing, for nobody would give French names except in French times; but we do not know them except Royal, Conti, Dauphin, St. Charles and possibly St. Louis and St. Anthony. The origin of those we do know is full of interest. St. Charles was an old patron saint among the French, as were St. Anthony and St. Louis, and were brought from Canada. Royal Street was so named from the esplanade around the fort, which we know was called Place Royale up the river, and Dauphin was named for the heir apparent of the French throne, just as Dauphine Island was for his wife. The island was named earlier, but the Dauphin of 1711 was the grandson of Louis XIV whose sad death two years later convulsed the country. Conti was a great family akin to royalty and also to the famous general called the Grand Condé, dating from a little before this era. War had at this time almost cut Mobile off from the home country, and when Bienville gave these names he was still trying to reproduce in America a little Paris. The streets were 36 feet wide. The lots were 75 feet front and 150 deep, and generally faced east and west, for the north and

south streets were those more in demand. The time was to come when Conti and Dauphin were to be important and when extended westwardly through the pine forest many lots were to face on them, but at the beginning this was not true. The houses were of cedar and pine upon piling or a limestone brought from up the river. The dwellings were 18 to 25 feet high and some higher, made of a plaster of sand and oyster shell lime, and we know of at least one two-story house. The hospital was at the southeast corner of Dauphin and Conception Streets, the cemetery immediately west of the fort, about the second block south of the hospital. St. Denis lived across the street from present Christ Church and it so happens that his name and Bienville's are the only two that are also on the map of the city up the river. Bienville lived next south of the fort, where, as up the river, he had a whole block to himself. Indeed south of the fort were a number of notables, such as Mandeville, for whom the Mandeville Tract was named, and Paillou, the celebrated engineer, who laid off Mobile and afterwards Natchez and Fort Toulouse.

3. A Question of Clothes. The map of the new town does not give us names of any residents except the officers. It omits the *habitans* just as it omits the names of the streets on which they live. Nevertheless the old names recur on the church register. In France the punctilious Duke of St. Simon was now raising the great Hat Question, that is, whether the president of the French court called the Parlement should take off his hat when the Dukes of France attended as members? There was also a Hat Question in Louisiana, where ships arrived very seldom. The ladies made up for hats by the use of feathers, ribbons, and, it must be confessed, by enormous rats also; for the coiffures of that day were among the most marvellous

inventions of history. Of course, Versailles fashions were not quite reproduced in Louisiana, but Mobile was a piece of France, and as such followed as nearly as possible the French fashions. The dependence of the official class—and they made up a large part of the Mobile population—upon Versailles was something which has not been often paralleled, and, if Marlborough could dispute the military supremacy of France, at least no one from the time of Louis XIV disputed the millinery supremacy of Paris. We do not know that the Mobilians imitated the extravagance of their French sisters, but the pictures which survive of headdresses imitating ships might well have been designed in Mobile; for longing for a ship from France was the only thing in which all agreed. Of armor we know something, for the Canadian portraits of both Iberville and Bienville represent them in breastplates, but it was seldom used. Of Indian dress we know more; but we are not told a great deal about the feminine costume of the day. Bienville was unmarried and the other officials seldom discussed such matters. The robes and skirts of the ladies receive occasional mention, and we may well imagine that some of these assumed the great balloon shape so common in France. A flowing drapery is spoken of and possibly we have in it some reminder of the pleat which the painter Watteau was making fashionable. When we come to the men we know something, but our knowledge is mainly negative, for there is constant complaint that they did not have enough clothes. Bienville every now and then acknowledged the arrival of coats and shirts for the men, but never mentions underclothes, says that socks have not come and, as for hat, it is seldom named. The Indians wore breeches, and this was true of the *habitans*. There was occasionally very severe weather at Mobile in winter, but this was easily met by the skins and furs which came

for export to France. There was not much trouble about shoes, for tanneries were set up in the colony, and in this respect the people were independent of France. The officers were at Mobile for short times and did not always bring their families with them until 1712, when the new governor brought his large family—several of them young ladies—and from that time there was a kind of court at Mobile, where Paris costumes were usual. But that was not yet. The great Hat Question of France, then, related to whether the nobles or the lawyers should first take off their hats on entering court. In Mobile, the great Hat Question in 1711 was how to get any hats at all.

4. Industries. The notion which prevailed then and for a long time afterwards was that a colony was meant to be for the benefit of the home country. So long as most of the people came from France and expected after making some money to return to France, this would find no objection. Later when the *habitans* had become Creoles, attached to Louisiana even more than to France, there might be a different point of view. The English government was active in preventing the erection of manufactories in their colonies, but the French had no such trouble. The absolute government of Louis XIV made everyone dependent on the court at home and every colony dependent upon France, and many articles were sent from there. As to material, cotton was becoming more common, its chief place of production being now in Mexico and other southern countries, but wool was still the principal material for clothing. It was grown mainly in England, and weaving it made Flanders the manufacturing centre of the world. Taffeta is mentioned, but the principal goods brought to America were Limbourg, Mazamet and Rouen, largely used in Indian trade. Every ship brought a consignment of these materials. It would have been well if

the French government had encouraged the manufacture of clothes and other articles in Louisiana, but the factories of France were not flourishing and desired every market possible. The expulsion of the Huguenots had affected every industry, particularly in south France, and, not only so, but the exiles carried their knowledge and skill to Holland, Germany and England, to build up rivals in trade. This and the war were the reasons the supplies from France were scarce. The productive industries are those which would naturally prevail in a new country. Attention would be turned to sending home raw materials for manufacture. Thus many skins came down the rivers to Mobile for export, and in winter furs also, but they do not keep in a warm climate, and, while Canada was alarmed lest her beaver trade be turned southward, the fear proved groundless in the long run. There was a good deal done in the way of forestry and lumbering. On Iberville's first visit to Mobile River he cut a large mast for his vessel and all the governors encouraged the establishment of saw mills. These used long straight saws, which worked up and down. The modern circular saw had not yet been invented.

5. The Cures. The religious wars in France had resulted in a truce between the Catholics and Huguenots, which lasted to the reign of Louis XIV. Some of the Huguenots wished to settle in Louisiana, but this was denied. Louis had made one centralized government in France and there was to be but one church in France, and by insisting on what was called the Gallican Liberties, this church although Catholic was controlled by the King. Canada being older, its bishop St. Vallier was bishop also of Louisiana and ruled through deputies who were called Vicars-General. This duty was entrusted to the Seminary of Quebec, which had a branch seminary at Fort Louis on Twenty-Seven Mile Bluff. The Jesuits were active in

Canada and on the Mississippi, but they did not furnish the priests for the Gulf Coast. We find Jesuits at Mobile, but not as pastors. The first priest acting at Fort Louis was Father Davion. The first entry in the church records was in 1704, when he baptized a little Apalache girl, but Davion's service was temporary, and the first regular curé was La Vente, a missionary from the Seminary of Quebec, who received a salary of about two hundred dollars of our money. The induction of La Vente is described on a page prefixed to the Mobile Baptismal Register under date of September 28, 1704. It tells how Davion placed him in possession of the church by entering the building, sprinkling holy water, kissing the altar, touching the mass book, viewing the sacrament, and ringing the bells. This entry Davion certifies that no one opposed, and the quaint old document is witnessed by Bienville, Boisbriant and La Salle. The titles of the clergymen differ; sometimes it is priest, sometimes apostolic missionary, sometimes curé, but they performed the same religious duties so far as the colonists were concerned, whether at the Old Fort or the New. As showing the zeal of the French, we are told of one wealthy young priest who sent out workmen at his own expense to build the rectory and the chapel at the Old Fort and would have come himself, but for being kept back by an uncle through court proceedings. This rectory was built on the left of the Old Fort, and was very commodious. La Vente opposed Bienville's policies, and before the change of site was succeeded by LeMaire. There is no intimation of the removal of the colony in the records, for it was the same parish afterwards as before, and only incidentally a year afterwards New Fort Louis is named. The priests baptized the children and slaves, performed the marriage ceremonies and buried the dead, although the only records for the first twenty years were

those of baptisms. The priests were not all well educated, but their entries are in general clear and are invaluable.

6. The First Law Book. Every country is governed by law. In some cases the laws are in books or codes, but in all cases the first laws are customs, whose origin can not be traced. So it was in France. The country was ruled by one king, but it had been made up of different kingdoms or districts gradually annexed by the rulers at Paris. Each of these districts had its own system of law, in the shape of customs, and having that name, "*coutume*," in French. These had been reduced to writing by the time of Louis XIV, and he was trying to make *Coutume de Paris* superior to all others. Even he found this difficult, but he was able to make this book effective in his colonies. One leather bound copy now in Mobile was printed in 1664 at the palace in old Paris—a quarto, with the law in large letters, and notes in small type of additions made by the king and decisions of courts and lawyers. These customs were the law for Mobile, but many of them could not be applied, for they dated back even to the time of the Franks as modified by the civil law of Rome. This big book does not concern itself with politics or criminal law, for the king's officials looked after these things. The *Coutume* was concerned with such subjects as family relations and property. As to land, it has much to say about the lord or *seigneur*, and the rights and duties of his tenants, as to crops, dues and the like. The right any one has to the land he uses shows the kind of civilization of his country, and what is called the feudal system still prevailed in France at this time, and was, with the *Coutume de Paris*, transferred to Canada; but it is remarkable that this *seigneur* or lordship system did not exist in Louisiana. Ownership of land was much more free, amounting almost to what in our law is called fee simple. The reason for this change

LE DROICT

FRANCOIS,

ET COVSTVME

de la Preuoſté & Vicomté de Paris.

OV IL EST FAIT RAPPORT DV DROICT ROMAIN, & Ordonnances de nos Rois : des Articles generaux & particuliers des autres Couſtumes de ce Royaume, & de leurs differences.

AVEC LES ARRESTS DONNEZ EN interpretation d'icelles.

Par Maiſtre IEAN TRONÇON, *Aduocat en Parlement, Seigneur de Chaumontel la Ville, & du Preſſay.*

QVATRIESME EDITION.

Reueuë, corrigée, & augmentée de plus d'vn tiers par le meſme Autheur auant ſa mort.

A PARIS,
Chez GVILLAVME DE LVYNE, Libraire-Iuré, au Palais, au bout de la Salle des Merciers, à la Iuſtice.
ET
Chez IEAN GVINARD le fils, en la grande Salle du Palais, à l'Image S. Iean.

M. DC. LXIV.

was that the French colonists on the Gulf were to compete with the British colonists on the Atlantic, and, as these owned their land, the people of Louisiana must be on an equality with them. There were later some *seigneuries* on the Mississippi, but even the influence of Iberville was unable to establish them in his own favor at Mobile. There are sixteen titles or divisions in the book and several relate to the rights of the citizens or *bourgeois*. Mobile in the records is sometimes called city (*ville*) and its inhabitants called citizens (*bourgeois*), so that the different city rights which prevailed in Paris were very likely enforced in the little French city of Mobile, whether on the old or new site. Perhaps the longest division of the *Coutume* covers what we would call the administration of estates of deceased persons. All the divisions are full, even if somewhat quaint, and relate in one way or another to almost all the civil rights and duties that we have to-day. The form of law was different, but the people had in this book laws covering the conditions of that time as fully as a modern code does present conditions.

7. *Famines.* The first census for Fort Louis de la Mobile gives for the year 1703 a total population of one hundred thirty persons, and the next year, after the arrival of the Pelican, we find one hundred and eighty men bearing arms. Four years later there had been little change, as there were one hundred and twenty-two soldiers, one hundred and fifty-seven colonists, twenty-eight women and twenty-five children, and even two years after the removal the increase had been only to four hundred all told. This is not a good showing. The nearest British colony was Charleston, which long before this had a population of over five thousand people, but the circumstances of the two colonies were very different; for the French were hemmed in at home, while the English were masters of

the ocean. The French at Mobile were more dependent upon supplies from France at the very time they were less able to command them. The land about the Old Fort was better than at Biloxi, but nevertheless was not fertile. Attention was given more to the Indian trade than farming, but this was not to be wondered at, for agriculture was at a low ebb in France itself. The Dutch were the gardeners of Europe and war prevented the knowledge which they had gained from spreading widely. Moreover, it required several years of experiment before the French could find out what plants were suited to the New World, and in the meantime they depended upon buying corn from the Indians when supplies did not come from France. Of meat and fish there was enough, but, while this furnishes the most condensed food for human beings, it does not furnish everything that is needed, and, being secured by hunting and fishing, it was irregular. It was necessary sometimes to send soldiers or some of the unmarried colonists away from town to live in the woods with the Indians. One famous instance was just before the arrival in 1706 of the warship Eagle, which escorted a vessel with supplies. A supply ship did not arrive every year, although that was the plan, and even when it did, supplies ran low before the next would come. The result was often great distress between the arrival of supply ships. And yet while this was true at the Old Fort, it was not to be true at the New Fort. Famines marked the beginning of the settlement, but they were confined to that time. After they got used to the new surroundings, the French were as diligent as could be wished. Instead of being scattered among the natives to fish and hunt, the Creoles gradually spread about the Bay and tributary waters to work and live. Their little white houses, of framework filled in with mortar, and whitewashed with

shell lime, were to be found on many of the tree-shaded bluffs in the Mobile County, and behind the houses were the little gardens in which peas, beans, corn and other vegetables flourished, while nearby were peaches and native fruits. Our story is not at first of the building of a great city, but at least from 1711 it is the story of the steady growth of a fort and town as the centre of an industrious population.

CHAPTER IX.

UNDER A MERCHANT PRINCE.

1. France and England. The time of Louis XIV was marked by great success in the first half and great reverses in the second half of his reign. During the first period his minister Colbert built up France in all peaceful arts, and after his death the king was influenced by ministers who urged him into wars for increase of territory. England had been the enemy of France for centuries, sending armies to the Continent to attack her and also gradually winning the mastery of the sea. All the work of Colbert was now undone. Roads and canals were neglected, and the country nobility oppressed, and the farmers either placed in the army or crushed by taxes. On the ocean it was even worse. Colbert had built up a great navy and France had produced some seamen, but after Colbert's death the king neglected the navy for the army. Iberville was dead and had no successors. No wonder, therefore, that France could send little in the way of supplies to Mobile, and it had a bright side in that it made Bienville and his colonists more self-reliant. It probably drove them to agriculture, and the story of agriculture is better for Louisiana than for France in the years to come.

2. Crozat's Charter. When peace was in sight, the king determined that he could not continue the expense of building up Louisiana. He returned to the old plan of granting out a colony to others, although in a somewhat different shape, for it was not now a plan to establish a colony, but to develop one. It had been suggested before, but now a man came forward who thought he could use Louisiana for his own gain. It was Antoine Crozat, almost the only merchant who had been successful

during these times of war. He had made a fortune in the trade to the East Indies and in 1712 was granted a charter or concession by which he hoped to make money by developing Louisiana and by trading with the Spaniards near at hand. His success had made him a marquis and he now leased the country for fifteen years. The total population after eleven years of royal government was four hundred, including twenty negroes, and under his contract he was to bring over colonists and slaves. Crozat was to be represented in America by the governor and by officers called directors, and was to look after the civil life of the colony. The king still retained the military oversight and was to keep up the fort and maintain what soldiers were needed.

3. Governor Cadillac. In the year 1713 a frigate arrived at the port on Dauphine Island and fired the usual salutes; for she brought news of peace and of a change of government which was not wanted. Bienville did not remain governor. His endeavors had been to build up agriculture rather than commerce, and this did not suit the wider plans of Crozat. So Bienville was succeeded by one who was deemed a more successful officer. This was Cadillac, who had founded Detroit up in the country of fur trade about the same time that Mobile had been established, and had distinguished himself as its governor. With Cadillac came his wife, sons and daughters, as well as twenty-five young ladies from Brittany, who were soon married. Bienville was a bachelor and lived in a small house with large grounds south of the fort, occupying most of the block between Royal and St. Emanuel south of Monroe Street. His brother, Chateaugué, lived north of the fort at what is now the northwest corner of Royal and Conti Streets, and there had a two-story dwelling, regarded as the finest house in town. As Chateaugué was a sailor and out of the

city much of the time, Cadillac had little difficulty in taking possession of his house, and when complaint was made to the home government, it was without effect. Cadillac was a silent partner with Crozat, and the king was without power in the matter. Cadillac had always been much esteemed at Detroit, but at Mobile he seemed to be out of his element. The fur trade, to which he was used, did not flourish in so warm a climate, and the Spaniards maintained their old policy of keeping out all foreigners from trade with their colonies. There always was some commerce between French Mobile and Spanish Pensacola, for the two places had need of each other. The Pensacola district was not fertile at all and the Spaniards were less interested in farming than the French. So that, if Mobile had some famines, Pensacola had even more and was often dependent upon Mobile for supplies. What is now called Spanish River seems to have been named from the Spanish trade, which brought gold and silver to Louisiana; for the Spaniards continued to get much of the precious metals from Mexico and Peru and were always well supplied with what they called "hard money," while the French colonists, in consequence of the wars in Europe, had very little. But this trade with Pensacola was not all that Crozat desired.

4. *Expansion of the Colony.* The colony had now attained a settled condition, and was expanding in different directions. It was destined to come in competition with the British colonies on the Atlantic, and it is interesting to study the difference in the methods of growth. The French were the more adventurous and their wood rangers (*coureurs de bois*) ran over much of the continent while the British were clinging to the bays and lower rivers of the coast; but the British colonies were more compact and when they did grow it was a steadier growth than that

of the French. The French mingled more with the Indians and had more influence over them while the British treated them as enemies, and, far from mixing, endeavored to push them back in order to obtain their lands for white settlements. The centres of growth were different, too, in the two systems of colonization. The French inherited the civilization of the old Romans, and in their life the cities and towns were more important than the country. The French people were more urban than rural, while the English loved the country life far more. The curious result followed, that, although the British were to develop the greatest city on the globe, the French developed more cities and a richer city growth. In Louisiana the French military posts were intended to develop into cities, and the word *bourgeois* (citizen) was commonly used even though the town was more a promise than a reality. The French organization did not make much use of the country, although it was necessary to develop the country before the city (in the absence of manufactures) would have any products to handle. The English advance from the Atlantic was by plantations which encroached upon the Indian lands, and it was therefore resented by natives. The new English settlements were marked by stockades to which the neighbors could resort for protection, while the French settlements were scattered far from the posts among the Indians themselves. The French had Indian wars, but these were stirred up by outside influence, many by the English, and not due, as generally was the case with the English themselves, to Indian anger at bad treatment by the whites.

The French forts, therefore, were not military posts to hold the country against the Indians, but, on the one side, to control the trade with the Indians, and, on the other, intended to develop into cities. Hence the

importance of these posts, placed by farseeing Frenchmen at strategic points on the coast and on the rivers.

5. *Fort Toulouse.* With the coming of the new government to Mobile plans were begun for building such outposts up the rivers, and in this way Natchez was founded among the tribe of that name on the Mississippi River. This was the more necessary as the English were taking advantage of the Peace of Utrecht and trading as far west as the Mississippi. We learn of an English trader named Hutchey who was daring enough to come close to Mobile, where he was taken, and, although sent home by the French, was captured again by the Indians and tomahawked. Bienville remained the chief influence over the Indians despite the change of government, and we find him settling the Tensaws on the Mobile River after they had been worsted in a war where they lived west of the Mississippi. In the other direction the Alibamons had become more friendly with the French, for at Mobile they could obtain guns and ammunition, as well as liquor and cloth, much cheaper then by the old overland trade to Charleston, and the same change of feeling gradually came over the other Muscogee tribes further up the river. Bienville saw his chance in the war between the Muscogees and the English, and gladly granted the request of the Indians to establish a post among them. In 1714, therefore, the French built a fort on the neck of land just above the junction of the Coosa and Tallapoosa Rivers, near a mound to which the Alibamons resorted in case of overflow. The fort was named Toulouse for a son of Louis XIV, who was head of the French navy. The site was well chosen, for it commanded the trade route from Charleston to the Muscogees and the more western tribes. There was always a garrison and a priest, but a French town did not develop. Instead of that some of the Muscogee

villages were moved nearer the fort and gradually this beautiful country became the seat of thriving agricultural people. It not only made secure French influence here at the fall line, where the upper rivers leave their rocky beds and become one large navigable stream, but it broke forever the influence of the English. No more effectual stroke could have been applied then when Bienville built Fort Toulouse. We now find the Cahaba River called the Cabo on French maps and different bluffs and places received French names. Selma stands on the bluff which

FRENCH CANNON (Bienville Square)

bore Bienville's name, and a little higher up near the mouth of a creek was Bear Fort, and nearer the site of Montgomery a little island named French Island. Very few French seem to have lived up the Alabama River, although French influence was supreme. On the Tombigbee, at that time called Chickasaw (Tchicachas) River, there were more families. The Drapeaus lived where the Octibbeha joins the Tombigbee, and a little farther up near an eastern rocky bluff lived the Carrières. Other families could be found higher and very many lower down on the Mobile.

Iberville had promised both the Chickasaws and Choctaws to establish a post on the Tombigbee near their boundary, and this was carried out, but it did not lead for the present to building a regular fort. One was not so much needed there as among the Alibamons, for the Choctaws were always friendly and their country in central Mississippi traded exclusively with Mobile.

6. The Spanish Trade. But all this was of little importance to Cadillac. Trading with the Indians, and even friendship with them, was beneath his notice. He sought to develop mining and commerce, and part of the dissatisfaction which he early felt was from not finding precious metals. Due to him was the exploration which the French made up all the rivers emptying into the Gulf, but nowhere did they find mines of gold or silver. Cadillac was given a piece of gold which was said to come from the Illinois country, and he went up there only to find, that, while there was copper, there was no gold. Like disappointments met all of his schemes. He looked down upon the trade with Pensacola and sought to establish direct commerce with Mexico, and several trading ships were sent out from Dauphine Island laden with French wares; but they were not permitted to land in Mexico. These merchants seem to have been, like so many other people, from Canada, and their names are given on French maps to points on Dauphine Island or to islands in the Mobile Delta. They formed the first trading company in the South but, however influential they were at Mobile, they were not able to establish any trade with Mexico. We have a full account of two expeditions overland conducted by the celebrated St. Denis. On the first he went up the Red River from Mobile and then across to Mexico. He was well treated, but could not open any trade. The same result came to him on his second expedition some

years later, which he carried out on his own account. It is interesting in another way, for he fell in love with a Spanish girl on the Rio Grande, married her and afterwards brought her to Mobile. For the time being, however, he was by the Spaniards kept in jail.

7. *Fort Conde.* While Crozat's efforts were unsuccessful in so many directions, there was one thing he effected which lasted a long time. The original Fort Louis built by Bienville in 1711 was a mere stockade of cedar or cypress and it was found to have been projected too far towards the river. Accordingly in 1717 it was withdrawn more within the city and rebuilt of brick, and renamed Fort Condé. In this form it was to last for a century. In plan it was not unlike the old palisade, and the slopes outside the moat took up about the same amount of space; but the brick fort within the moat was much smaller. In size it was about equal to one of our city blocks. Its eastern edge ran diagonally across where Royal Street now is, from near Church to near Theatre, and it extended westward between these two streets almost to the present St. Emanuel. At each corner was a bastion, and the northwest bastion projected over Church Street. The slopes outside the moat, however, called the glacis, extended well into the blocks on all sides. There was also a change of wharf. The old wharf was allowed to fall to pieces and many of the cedar beams still lie beneath the pavement of Government Street. A new wharf was now built in front of the New Fort, and received the name, which it ever afterwards bore, of King's Wharf. It passed over the site of the Old Fort and reached what was deep water in the middle of present Commerce Street.

8. *The Shipping.* While the growth of the colony interests us more, the colonists themselves took greater interest in the shipping which plied to and from France.

There was, of course, no line of ships in the modern sense of the word, for trade was in the hands first of the king and now in that of Crozat. Before Crozat's day Chateaugué was often in command, and in times of distress he sailed to Vera Cruz or Havana to seek supplies, which were returned when the French ship came in. Chateaugué made these trips in small vessels, because there were no others in Mobile. Sometimes it was in the little twelve ton transfer boat (*traversier*) which was built to

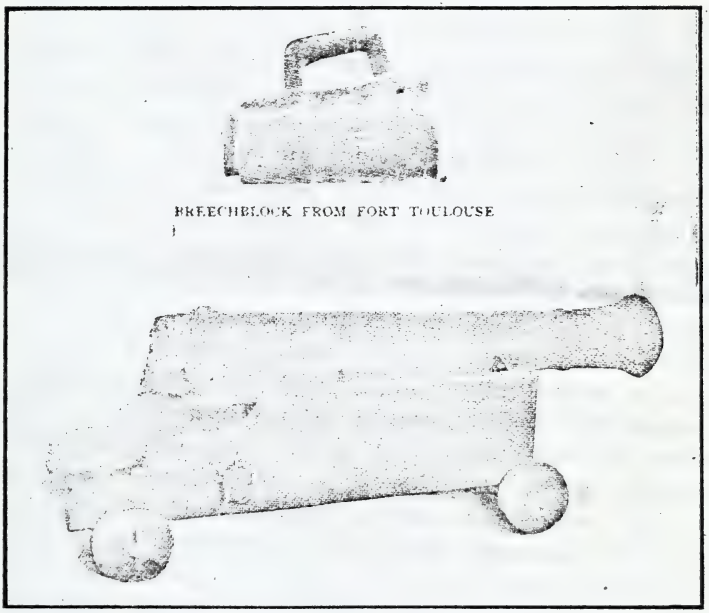
HARBOR OF LA ROCHELLE

ply between Dauphine Island and Mobile. The port in France from which ships came to Mobile was La Rochelle, which had been a Huguenot stronghold. The place remained a great port, although the royal navy had its headquarters at Rochefort and at Port Louis in France a great naval base created by the king not far away from Rochefort. These were all on the west coast of France,

but we are told of a ship also from St. Malo in Normandy, which carried under the bowsprit a wooden figure of her patron, St. Anthony. Some of the sailors were irreverent enough to cut the figure away, tie a stone around its neck, and sink it into the sea not far from Dauphine Island. We are told that immediately a storm arose and the ship was wrecked with its crew, in sight of land. Some years later a ship captain determined to remedy the proverbial wickedness of sailors, and in 1712 built a church out of his own means in Port Dauphine on Dauphine Island, which was visible far and near, and became a great attraction to the place. The Pelican one remembers because of her service under Iberville in Hudson's Bay and because of her voyage in 1704, but the most famous of the ships probably was Iberville's flag-ship, the *Renommee*.

One time she came as a private venture, loaded with supplies sent over by Remonville, a friend of the colony. Under Cadillac shipping increased greatly. With him came over eighty thousand dollars worth of merchandise for his trading ventures, and as much came afterwards. There were occasional shipwrecks, as the Justice, which sank the next year in the Dauphine Island Sound. Crozat intended building a merchant marine of brigantines to ply from Dauphine Island as a central point, but the Spaniards would not admit his ships. Crozat was not liberal himself, for we find that he refused entry to a frigate from Rochelle and a brigantine from Martinique. Ships generally came in the spring and returned in the fall loaded with colonial products, after two or three months sojourn at Dauphine Island. They were almost always of the royal navy, carrying from twelve to fifty guns, and sometimes they came in small squadrons, such as three vessels which arrived in 1717. Although Mobile had been moved to the mouth of the river, the ships from France

seldom came up to the city. They frequently drew too much water and anchored at Port Dauphin. There they unloaded their cargoes and such as was intended for the city and for the Indian trade was transferred to smaller boats, like Chateaugué's *traversier*, which carried them up to town. There they were stored in the warehouse



CANNON FROM FORT TOULOUSE

(*magasin*) and sold to the people, sent up to the river forts, or annually delivered to the Indians, as the case might be. While Crozat was unable to establish the foreign commerce which he wished, he did develop Mobile. For then, as ever since, its life depended upon its shipping and the trade with the interior.

CHAPTER X.

HOW THE CREOLES LIVED.

1. Creoles. The *habitans* and Creoles lived a contented rather than a strenuous life, for amusement then as now was one of the French arts, and music and dancing were common. We read of Picard taking his violin with him when Bienville dispersed the people among the Indians to avoid starvation, and Picard taught the dark Nassitoche girls on Lake Pontchartrain the minuet and other dances familiar at Mobile. Of course wine was in use, but the evil side of liquor seems to have been largely confined to its sale to the Indians. The woodrangers (*coureurs de bois*) were intemperate in every way, but the Creoles learned to live a plain and healthy life. The word Creole was originally applied to white people of European parentage, and it became a name of great honor. As French mulattoes had white blood, it has became applied to them also, as in the case of the "Cajans" near Mount Vernon. These are sometimes said to be descended from the gentle Acadians immortalized in Evangeline. More certainty attaches to the Chastangs of Chastang Station, who are said to have the blood of Dr. Jean Chastang. While he was in Mobile, the doctor lived northeast Royal and Dauphin, but he afterwards moved to the bluff named for him. The Chastang dialect is French, much corrupted by African and English.

2. Home Life. Woman was here, as elsewhere, the centre of all social life, and woman has always occupied an influential place among the French. The two social forces were Woman and the Church. The age of the encyclopedists had not come, and the French colonists were devout Catholics. Marriage, birth, sickness and

death made up then as now a large part of human life, and centered about Woman and the Church. The holy days, too—Christmas, Easter and the different Saint's days—were observed, and then too Woman and the Church joined in bringing families and friends together. One of the favorite holidays was St. Louis day, July 24, and Merry Mardi Gras can be found observed from the times of Old Fort Louis at Twenty-Seven Mile Bluff. Among the French the bride brought a dowry, which remained her own, but in Louisiana there was such a scarcity of women that dowry is not often mentioned. The king undertook to supply the colonists with wives, and among the oddest cargoes ever shipped were those every few years of marriageable girls. There was a famous consignment of twenty-three by the Pelican in 1704, and the first after the removal was that of 1712. The Pelican girls have been remembered for their objection to corn bread, which was new to them, but they should be remembered as the women whose husbands and children founded Mobile.

3. Houses. One singular feature was that, although there was plenty of land, the houses were built near the street, and, instead of having front yards as with the English, flowers as well as vegetables were grown in the garden or court behind the house. Glass for windows was rare even in France, and solid shutters were the rule. There were few public buildings, and they differed from the residences in size rather than otherwise. Stone as yet was seldom used for buildings, nor was brick, except for cellars. Even two-story houses were rare. Visitors to and from Mexico—New Spain—were not unknown, but there was not here any use of its adobe houses, gradually approaching over the narrow streets. Most of the buildings were frame, or wooden frames filled in with oyster shell plaster. Whitewash was used, and the streets were

shelled, so far as anything was done to them at all. Vines and trees abounded, and the little city perched on the bluff marked by Royal Street, was a picturesque sight to any visitor. There was nothing grand, as in Paris, but there was much comfort and the *savoir vivre* (knowing how to live) which has marked Mobile ever since.

4. Education. Education has assumed a larger place with us than with these simple colonists, but it would be a mistake to think that there were no schools. Louis had subjected the church to the state, but within its limits the church exercised full jurisdiction not only over religion, but over education—indeed education was a part of the duty of the priest or nun. The teaching Jesuits were not the official priests of Mobile, for these were missionaries of the Seminary of Quebec and later came the Carmelites; but no matter who they were, the priests as a rule were men of culture and earnestness. We learn nothing of the books they read, or of the school books of the children. Not only was the printing press unknown, but literature had little to do with social enjoyment. Nevertheless the church records show that many people could write, although later the cross was often the method of signature. One of Cadillac's daughters made a cross and she was fresh from the schools of Canada. Cadillac was to bring with him quite a number of French *domestiques*, but the usual servants of that day were little Indian slaves captured in war. There were not many negroes among the colonists when Mobile was founded—there were few at the Old Fort and only twenty in 1713. They began to be imported in numbers under John Law's Company. The slaves, Indian or African were always baptized.

5. The First Mobile Author. Among the many people who were in Mobile in French times several have left accounts of what they saw and heard. The only one who

really lived there was André Penicaut and he is the last one that we would think of as an author, for by business he did such rough work as building boats and repairing them. Spelling was not a strong point with anybody in those days, and we are not quite sure whether we find his name in the church register or not. At all events, born in famous old Rochelle in 1680 of Catholic and not Huguenot stock, he, like everyone else in France, was much interested

PORT DAUPHIN

in Louisiana, and came over with Iberville in the Badine; and in Louisiana he remained until 1722. Penicaut was quite a linguist and on this account and because he was a ship carpenter he was a member of many exploring parties. Being a genial character, he met everyone, and, having some literary tact, he has been able to leave us a most interesting book. He says that he kept notes of everything

he relates, but his dates are sometimes not quite correct, although this may be due to the fact that he suffered from some eye trouble and went back to France almost blind. He lived in both Mobiles, spent a famous winter with Le Sueur in Minnesota, was among the Indians more than once, and lived a joyous happy life wherever he was. He was a true Frenchman in his sociability, his keen eye and ready pen.

6. The Front Gallery. In early Mobile the houses were built close together, partly as a reminder of the walled towns in France, and partly because of the sociable nature of the people. They would talk from window to window, and often across the narrow streets, while the little front gallery was in some sense what Dr. Brinton would call the basis of social relations. An outdoor living room was called for by the climate and in the French South West its equivalent was found in this Creole front gallery. About Mobile the name has survived the changes of five flags. It was brought by the Canadians, and its primitive form is still found along the St. Lawrence. It is there a projection from the house, and does not rest upon pillars as with us. It is called *galerie*, as with the Southern Creoles. We have no illustrations of the Mobile house, but we have pictures of Dauphine Island places. These show one-story houses with the chimney at one end, but with perhaps two exceptions, no galleries or even sheds in front. They give us one striking feature, however, of Creole architecture—the roof sloping in the front and to the rear. It, like those of the *habitans* along the St. Lawrence, has a curving slope, and partially projects over the front gallery. Tiles and even shingles were rare, and thatch, often palmetto, was common.

PERIOD III.
A FRENCH TRADE CENTRE
1717-1763

AUTHORITIES.

For this period the same authorities may be consulted as for the last, and to them may be added Bossu, *Nouvaux Voyages*, Villiers du Terrage, *Louisiane Francaise*.

CHAPTER XI.

THE MISSISSIPPI BUBBLE.

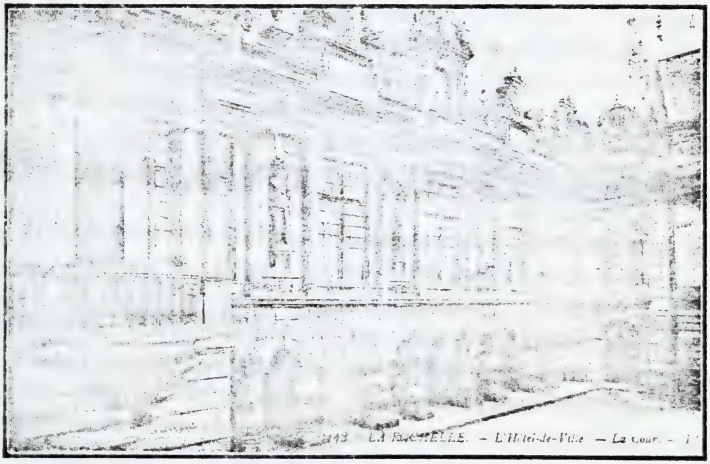
1. John Law and the Regent. When Louis XIV died his successor was a little boy of ten. It was found the king had directed that the government should be conducted by people who were not acceptable to the old nobility, who favored the king's nephew, the Duke of Orleans, as regent. The word of Louis XIV in his life time was law, but after his death the court called the Parlement of Paris set aside part of the will which he had left and acknowledged the Duke of Orleans as regent. He immediately assumed the trust, and until 1722 was the head of France. His habits were bad, but there is no doubt he loved his country and wished to advance it. The wars of Louis XIV had left France poverty stricken and only his great name prevented bankruptcy. The money question was the first, therefore, which the regent had to meet, and in solving it he came under the influence of one of the greatest minds of modern times. Colbert had realized that the wealth of a country consists in what its people are able to produce, for that enables them to exchange with foreign countries and obtain what they can not produce themselves. The theory of Spain was that the possession of gold and silver, no matter how obtained, makes a country rich, and the search for gold had been what led to colonization in America. John Law, a refugee gambler from Scotland, had a different theory. To him it appeared that money need not be gold and siver so long as the property of the nation was made to secure it. In other words, that a government could issue paper money, which stood for the land and other property of the nation. He became a friend of the regent and the regent adopted his views. Law was

first given the right to open a bank and was then granted in succession the charters of several French trading companies, such as those of India and of Africa, and the government became in a sense a partner with him. Much of the public debt was paid off by the new money and everything went well for a while. It so happened that at the time Law was changing old ideas as to finance, Crozat was changing his old ideas as to colonization. There was plenty of land in Louisiana, but no gold, and Crozat was more than willing to have his charter cancelled. This was an opportunity for Law and he sought to have Louisiana turned over to him, and it was soon affected. Law organized a Company of the West and received a charter based on Crozat's, but with more extensive rights. He sold shares of stock to the public and the greatest interest was aroused. In a short time the results were such as had never been seen before, and what Law called the System, but what was afterwards known as the Mississippi Bubble, attracted the attention of the world.

2. The Storm of 1717. Meantime in America the elements seemed to be conspiring to aid Law in his plans. The old dream of La Salle had been to make the Mississippi River in the South what the St. Lawrence River had been in the North—the centre of a French empire. Sailing ships of that day, however, could not ascend the Mississippi and the banks near the mouth were not suitable for habitation, and thus it was that Mobile and Dauphine Island with their higher lands had developed as the joint capital of the colony. The town without the port would be worthless and the port without the town would be helpless. Both had grown and flourished together.

There have occasionally been great storms about Mobile Bay, but one which came in March, 1717, was the most momentous of all. Three French ships had arrived, the

Duclos, Paon, and Paix. The Paon entered the harbor at Port Dauphin as usual by the twenty-one foot channel, but while the other two were lying outside there came up a great storm. All rode it out in safety, but the wind which spared the ships acted upon the Gulf in such a manner as to close up the channel with sand, and the Paon was imprisoned This was merely inconvenient for the ship, because after her cargo was unloaded she was lightened so as to draw only ten feet and it was possible to take her



CITY HALL, LA ROCHELLE

around to the channel at Mobile Point, where she rejoined the other vessels. But the effect upon Port Dauphin was lasting. Vessels drawing over ten feet could no longer enter the harbor and its usefulness was gone. The effect upon Mobile itself was as great; for the life of any port depends upon the depth of water to the sea. The importance of all this was not at first realized. Ships still came and were to come for years; but they had to

anchor outside the harbor and not only was it difficult to land their cargoes from the open sea, but the vessels themselves were at the mercy of every storm.

There had already been a change in the colonial government, for these three vessels had brought out the appointment of Bienville as governor for the time being and Hubert as *commissaire*, thus superseding Cadillac and his officials. Bienville received the Cross of the Order of St. Louis, an honor which he had long sought, together with a grant of Horn Island near Biloxi as his own property. This was done by Crozat himself, for Law's Company, although planned, was not organized until August of this year. Nevertheless Bienville and Hubert had to take the situation in hand and make plans for the future.

3. Capital Moved to New Biloxi. The first vessel sent out by Law's Company arrived on February 9, 1718, and brought a full commission to Bienville as governor. His orders were to colonize the Mississippi River and he was to build up the colony by granting lands up this river and on all favorable points along the coast. Hubert insisted that the lower Mississippi was not habitable and favored making a new settlement near Natchez, where the bluffs were high. Nevertheless, Bienville examined the river and picked out the site of a new city, which in compliment to the regent was named New Orleans, as well as the site of a fort far up in the Illinois country named Fort Chartres. As both favored a site further to the west Bienville and Hubert finally agreed upon placing the capital of the colony at Biloxi. This was not the original Biloxi, for that was on the east side of the bay, while the new was on a bayou which emptied into the Sound near where one now finds the Biloxi lighthouse. There a new settlement was built.

4. A Chateau on the Bay. Law's Company issued glowing circulars and printed many beautiful maps, some

of Mobile Bay, which gave us an idea of the colony of that day; but with the removal of the capital the government no longer concerns us directly. Mobile went on growing despite this removal and perhaps it showed a richer life for being without the stimulus of having the government officials.

A map of the Mississippi River and of the Gulf Coast will show many of Law's oblong grants of land, called concessions; but there were few, if any, of these on Mobile Bay or River. This was not altogether because Mobile was neglected, but rather because the choice lands had by this time been already granted. The time of Law's Company, therefore, means much less for Mobile than for the small part of Louisiana which has retained the old name, but there were also distinct gains for the Mobile country.

The government had long been trying to make the colony agricultural. The difficulty lay rather with the colonists themselves, who were not always good farmers, and generally became more interested in Indian trade or Spanish smuggling. With Law's Company this was somwhat changed. Not only were more people brought, but Euro pean plants were introduced. From his time dates our fig tree, which had been brought to the French West Indies from Spain and the Orient. The peach, cherry and plum were native, but oranges were about this time also introduced from the West Indies. Strawberries now became common and were much praised. We do not learn of any new vegetables of importance, for peas, beans, maize and the potato were native and sufficient for colonial needs. We call the potato "Irish," but it is native here and imported into Ireland from America. Little gardens behind the Creole houses from time this on became usual and were well stocked. The first comers suffered sometimes from sickness and from famine, but the *habitans*

had now become the Creoles, attached to America rather than to France, and having no difficulty raising whatever vegetables and fruits they needed.

Bienville had for some time had a chateau on the Bay near the park which the city has recently opened on the old Fair Grounds. There he took much interest in his garden. Somewhat later the Jesuit Charlevoix was to describe many useful plants which grow about here. Among them was the candle myrtle, whose wax furnished the material for lighting, the may apple which the French call *ipecacuanha*, the sunflower which furnished aconite, and the saracenia was also a medicine. The ginseng was found over all America, and now, before coffee had been generally introduced, the sassafras not only supplied a native tea, but its ground leaves originated the famous Creole gumbo. The Indians used the youpon as the black drink which they took before going on the war path, and it became also a colonial medicine. Many of the roots which we have, such as turnips, were not yet known out of Holland, where they were first cultivated, but the flowers were much the same then as now. In Charlevoix's book there are pictures of the Jack-in-the-Pulpit and the Virgin's Slipper, and he tells us of the sweet shrub and of many other plants.

All in all Bienville's chateau on the Bay was a pleasant place, and what with his table, his garden and the beautiful view, he and his friends would spend there many an afternoon.

5. The Pensacola War. One would think that America was large enough for the colonists of Spain and France, a few thousand in all, and yet we find that they too were influenced by the wars in Europe. Immediately after Law's Company took charge, the French sent a colony to St. Joseph's Bay, far to the east of Pensacola. It might have

proved permanent and left Pensacola as a little Spanish outpost entirely surrounded by the French and their allies; but war broke out in Europe between France and Spain. There never had been war between the two countries since Louis XIV had helped Spain against Europe, but the regent acted otherwise. In March, 1719, a warship arrived at Dauphine Island with many pasesngers, and a month later other vessels under Bienville's brother Serigny with more, and also two hundred and fifty negroes to be distributed among the concessions. This was the first large importation of Africans. The war news which Serigny brought was perhaps more important still, and the three Le Moyne brothers immediately organized an army to attack Pensacola. Bienville got together eight hundred French and Indians and marched overland, while Serigny sailed for Pensacola, to co-operate with four vessels. The attack was in May and the small Spanish garrison was not able to make much of a resistance. After it surrendered Chateaugué was left there with a garrison of three hundred and the Spanish prisoners were sent to Cuba. And then happened something very unusual. Instead of the Spaniards at Havana honoring the flag of truce, they captured the ships which brought the prisoners, put aboard them a large force, and proceeded to invest Pensacola. It was the turn of the French now to surrender and Chateaugué and his garrison had to go to Havana as prisoners of their late prisoners.

Nor was this all. Cuba had been long thoroughly Spanish and Havana was at this time a city of ten thousand people, including a strong garrison. It was not difficult, therefore, to make up a fleet, and this sailed with many soldiers for Dauphine Island, where St. Denis commanded. The storm had closed the port for the Spaniards as well as for the French and the large vessels

could not enter. St. Denis' fort was a mere sand bank behind the little settlement, and his troops and Indians did not exceed two hundred. The Spaniards were able to get into the Bay by the eastern passage at Mobile Point, and attacked a French settlement on Mon Louis Island. When they came a second time, however, Mobile Indians rushed down upon them from the woods and killed thirty and captured seventeen, whom they tomahawked at Mobile.

St. Denis meantime had been able to defeat the Spanish attack on Port Dauphine and the fleet sailed away. He made captives and among them were a number of men who had deserted from the French, and these were shot in accordance with military law. This war had shown rapid changes, and but one more was needed. Bienville and St. Denis went overland to Pensacola again, and a French captain went by sea, and between them they recaptured the place. There they found more deserters, whom they hanged, and this time the French made sure their hold. A strong garrison was left and the Spaniards were not able to retake the place. It remained French until peace came some years later, when by an article in the treaty it was restored to Spain. Chateaugué had to remain in Morro Castle in Havana until the same time, and finally when the war was over the two colonies found themselves where they were before, the French at Mobile and the Spanish at Pensacola, except that ill feeling had been caused and a number of valuable lives lost. There is no doubt, however, that the energy of the French colony had increased greatly since John Law had superseded Crozat, and Mobile felt the new spirit as much as any other part of Louisiana.

CHAPTER XII.

OUR OLD ARCHIVES.

1. The Church Registers. The family and land ownership are two institutions which are necessary for civilization and in all ages we find that public records have been kept of these two things. The church preserved the records connected with birth, marriage and death, and the state has kept the records connected with grants of land by the government and with deeds between citizens afterwards. Mobile was really a city of France, and enjoyed the same laws, so that in Mobile we find the kind of records that we find at Paris or in Lyons at the same period. A royal ordinance almost a hundred years before had directed that a civil officer must prepare two blank books each year, and put his initials on them, for use of the priest, and the priest should keep one as a minute book and return the other to the officer as a record. At Mobile the records kept as minutes, stitched neatly together, have been preserved ever since, and make up the most precious material which history knows in our part of the country. The priest under the correct date certifies that he has baptised a certain child, giving its name and the names of the the parents and of the witnesses, and perhaps other information. Then the priest signs, and the witnesses and sometimes others sign with him. In this way we have information not only of births, but as to the business of the different colonists.

From these records we learn the succession of priests and also of civil officers. Davion's name occurs at rare intervals as late as 1720, but he was evidently here on visits. We have Huvé's entries off and on until the succeeding year, when he went on a mission to the

Mississippi Indians, and five years later on account of increasing blindness was compelled to return to France. Other priests were good men and did their duty, and of them should specially be remembered Father Beaubois.

After Law's Company assumed charge it built churches and by agreement with the Bishop of Quebec divided Louisiana into three districts. The Illinois region went to the Jesuits, New Orleans and the South West to the Capuchins, but the Mobile district from the Ohio to the Gulf was looked after by the Barefoot Carmelites. Few Carmelites came to Mobile, however, and the Capuchin order supplied most of the curés. The Jesuits had missionaries among the Chickasaws, Alibamons and Choctaws—the Choctaw station being at Chickasahay (*Tchicachae*). With the growth of the colony the Mobile curé sometimes signs himself as vicar apostolic, which means he reported directly to Rome, and sometimes as vicar of the Bishop of Quebec. Sometimes there was a separate missionary to the Apalaches, the most Catholic of all the Indians, but generally the Mobile curé had to visit not only the Apalaches and Tensaws, but the French on Dauphine Island and at Pascagoula. The Apalaches had moved southward with the French and lived in a village between Three Mile Creek (Bayou Chateaugué) and Chickasabogue, which the French sometimes called the St. Louis River from the parish of St. Louis among the Apalaches. The priest lived there in a frame house under the beautiful oaks and his stone cellar can still be seen in the lumber yard near a saw mill. Later we find the Apalaches and Tensaws over at the mouths of the rivers which bear their names in Baldwin County.

The oldest register was used only for baptisms, but in 1720 the Company supplied a book in which was to be recorded baptisms, then marriages, and then deaths; but

in point of fact no separate record was kept for marriages. Many are found in the Baptismal Register, while the deaths from 1720 are recorded in a separate book. The marriage entries give the name, age, quality and residence of each of the bridal couple, and also the names of witnesses. The burial records give the date of death, as well as of the funeral, and there sign, beside the priest, near relatives and friends who are in the funeral party.

2. Concessions of Land. There was at first no regular grant of land, and in fact this continued to be the rule throughout French times. It was so important to have colonists that the government did not take the trouble to make a formal grant, and occupancy amounted to ownership. With the advent of Law's Company this was changed in regard to the large tracts, but few grants of Mobile city lots are known, for most of these had been already occupied. The procedure was a written request by the person desiring land, and then the concession, signed by the governor and *commissaire*, concluded by registration of the papers by the clerk in the office of the Supreme Council. The earliest grant of which we know was of Mon Louis Island to Nicholas Baudin, made at the Old Fort by Bienville and D'Artaguette, and ratified by Cadillac three years later, and it is remarkable that this tract remained in the family until quite recent days. The next concession was one on Fish River (in present Baldwin County) to La Pointe, made by Cadillac in 1715 and countersigned by the *commissaire*.

The concessions in the time of Crozat led the way to those by Law, which specified the object of the grant. In case of La Pointe this was stated to be to raise cattle. The title became complete provided the grantee cultivated the land for two years, but was subject to whatever taxes might be imposed, and also to the royal claims for timber

for forts, repair of ships and other public works, including taking the whole tract, if necessary for fortifications. A cedar grove was reserved in the La Pointe Grant.

After the Apalaches moved over to the eastern shore of Mobile Bay, their territory, the well known St. Louis tract, extending from Three Mile Creek to Chickasabogue, was granted to D'Artaguette in 1733. Somewhat later there was a town grant made to the famous Madame de Lusser. Her husband had fallen in an Indian war and she was granted this tract at about our Eslava Street, extending from the river westwardly to where the Protestant Orphan Asylum now stands on Dauphin Street, between Broad and Common Streets. The object of the grant was agriculture, but the Madame only cleared so much as she needed and built cabins for her slaves there.

One tract which still bears the old name of Lisloy—an abbreviation of *L'isle-aux-oies* (Goose Island)—is on Fowl River. The description is indefinite, but the tract has always been well known. There had been no actual grant, and towards the end of the French period there was a certificate that this, like many other tracts, was privately held by government permission. The land was used for cattle raising.

3. Conveyances. After the government had parted with its title the land was private property and passed from one person to another by deeds. These were, however, different from our deeds, which state that one person for a certain sum of money sells certain described lands to another, the grantor signing the paper and a notary affixing a certificate. The French had the old Roman custom, by which a notary not only drew up the paper, but drew it up as something done before him as a court. Both parties signed, with witnesses, and the notary kept the deed himself. He would give a certified copy if asked, but his office

was and still is in French countries a kind of record room where papers are kept. These French deeds are provoking in one respect, for the description is so vague that we can not tell where the places were. One deed says that the house sold was opposite to that bought by a tailor and next door to a lady's vacant lot. In some cases we can identify the land only because the property remained in the same family until the time when modern deeds give more definite boundaries.

4. *The Notary.* The notary and curé, therefore, were in some respects the most important officers in Mobile. The curé kept all the records of the three great family events of birth, marriage and death, and the notary made all land records and kept them in his house. Both places were in the nature of record offices. The notary was probably even more familiar than the commandant with the law, for he came in closer touch with the people. We know the names of several notaries, and Dubourdieu was so long in office and witnessed so many papers that he should be remembered. What has become of the notarial papers no one knows. The church records are with us, because the church is still with us, but French law and offices are gone. The church records were kept in books, while the deeds, although drawn by the notary, were separate papers and easily lost. The notary is to be thought of as having an office, but going from place to place as wanted, an old man, perhaps, dressed much like the other *habitans*, except that he would have in his belt an inkhorn and under his arm the *Coutume de Paris* or legal papers.

5. *Court Proceedings.* At first the governor acted also as a judge, but it did not take long to show the necessity for separate courts. Now-a-days we draw a sharp line between three departments of government—executive, legislative and judicial—but in those days there was no

such division. There was only the distinction between the governor as a military officer, the *commissaire* as a civil officer, looking out particularly for the king's property and revenue, and a royal judge for law suits almost from the first.

One of the changes introduced by Crozat was the establishment of a Superior Council, sometime called the Sovereign Council, made up of high officials. This was needed because the colony was growing, and the Council acted as a superior to the commandants of the different posts, and as a court of appeals from their decisions in law suits. The duties of this Council were afterwards extended, and in one shape or other it lasted throughout the French times, whether the government was by the king's lieutenant or by Law's Company.

The commandant acted as the American probate judge does, but sometimes there was what we would call a general administrator, who looked after the property of people who died. He had more power than the modern officer of that title, for whenever anyone died it was his duty to put a seal on the papers and even on the door of the deceased, and in due time sell all property for payment of debts and expenses and for division among heirs. In one such case a petition was addressed to the royal judge asking for sale of the property of a dead man, a notice was then posted up for the judicial sale of his house and lot, and the sale was had at the church door on three successive Sundays. On the first Sunday a bid was made, on the second some one raised it, and on the third the price went much higher, for that was the time of the real sale.

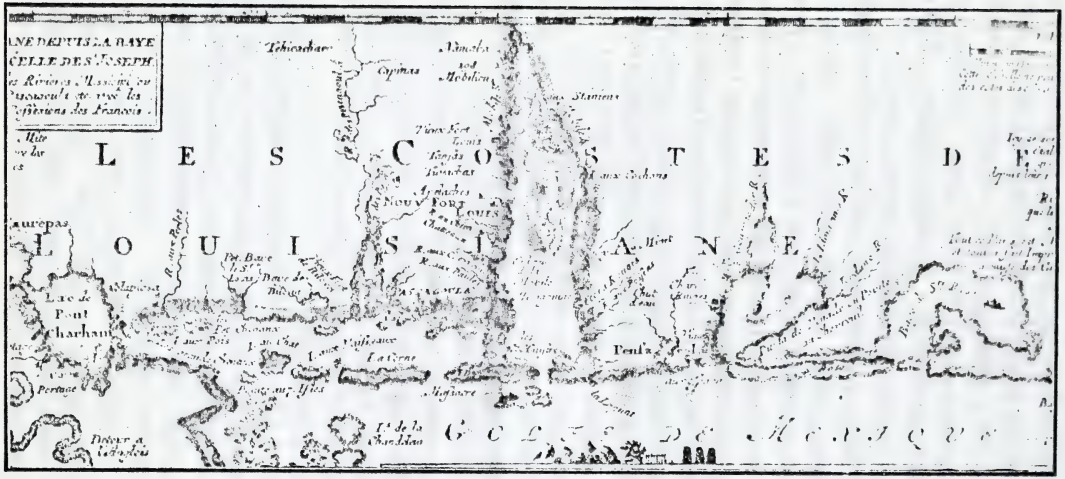
CHAPTER XIII.

ALONG THE COAST.

1. The Creoles and the Water. While there were few concessions made about Mobile in the time of John Law, the usual practice had been that which he adopted. There were few roads in those days and so long as the colonists lived along the river banks or seacoast there was not much need for them. A paddle and a dugout canoe, the larger freight boat known from Spanish times as *piragua*, or the similar flat bottom passenger boat known as the carriage (*voiture*), were sufficient for all needs. After negro slavery superseded Indian, there were plenty of oarsmen, and the Creoles themselves became expert sailors. They lived on their distant farms contented and in as perfect security from the Indians as the *coureurs* who traded among the Indians themselves. The low country about Mobile is much cut up by the sluggish streams which the French call bayous, many of which still keep their old names.

2. Place Names Around the Bay. Some of the waters about Mobile still bear Indian names and the Chickasabogue goes back to some prehistoric times when the Chickasaws instead of the Choctaws lived on Mobile River, and Chocolochee and Chucfee Bays near Tensaw River cannot now be translated. One Mile Creek under the French was Bayou Marmotte, called from a rat or weasel, and Three Mile Creek was named Bayou Chateaugué for that celebrated Frenchman. High up the bayou is a shallow place called the Portage, where the Choctaws crossed to come down their trail, now known as Spring Hill Road, and the French had to carry their canoes around this Portage if they wanted to go up the stream. Over to the south a source of Dog River is still known as Bayou Durand, from an old French family.

Up Mobile River lived the families of La Tour at Twenty-One Mile Bluff, and Parent near Mt. Vernon. Tensaw River was then called Spanish River and one of the delta islands nearby was named Hog Island. Lower down in later times were the Tensaws and Apalaches, and the well known engineer Minet seems to have given his name to the bay which has ever since retained it. High up a creek there are a number of Indian mounds, which are still called for the Touachas, of whom so little is known. Their name seems to be that of one of the Alibamon villages known to De Soto, although Penicaut brings them from Florida. Their great mounds are among the most interesting remains in our country. A French village occupied the beautiful spot ever since called the Village, and our Montrose, later named for a Scotchman, was under the French called Red Bluff,—a name which the British were afterwards to retain. Fish River was so called in those days, and in the south fork was a waterfall which can now hardly be traced. From that location came valuable stone used for building. Bon Secours means good help and was appropriate to that sheltered bay. The name may have come from the church at Montreal which was dedicated to sailors, where they would say their last prayers on the outward voyage, and the image on top was the first object they would see on their return. The Lagoon was so called by the French as well as by the Spaniards. Perdido River was, of course, Spanish and marked what was finally the boundary between the French and Spanish colonies. Mobile Point always bore this name and the little islands outside were called Goziers for the weeds which grew upon them. Through them at this time the great volume of water emptying into the bay was gradually digging out a deep channel to take the place of the one closed at Dauphine Island in the storm of 1717. On the western shore below



MOBILE COAST

Bienville's chateau were Dog, Deer and Fowl Rivers, bearing the same names as now, and a beautiful spring gave the name to Belle Fontaine. Mon Louis Island was called for Baudin, its owner, who came from Mont Louis near Tours in France. He lived on the Bay side of the island at a place called Miragouane or Miragoine, sometimes receiving the title of *Sieur* therefrom. Its meaning is not quite certain, but seems to be the same as our Mosquito. His title, therefore, is something like the Knight of the Mosquito.

The region about Bayou La Batré was seen and named at the beginning of the French time. Grand Bay they called Pine Bay, the little island opposite Pine, which we know as Coffee Island, while the islands further east about Grant's Pass were called the Reeds.

3. Dauphine Island. We have studied the history of Port Dauphin with its once deep harbor and the beautiful church built by the ship captain, as well as the Spanish attack in the Pensacola war. A British privateer or pirate from Jamaica had raided it even earlier, and this was one of the reasons for drawing Mobile and the port closer together.

The island was to be a favorite place for Indian councils, but the church records show that it was the residence of many Frenchmen also. The priest frequently came there and French names have even yet survived as names of places. The shell bank on the north side was once an Indian mound, and, crowned with cedars, has always been a favorite resort. Little Dauphine Island was then called for Guillori who lived upon it. Possibly the sailor Chateaugué is still commemorated in the Point Chugae found upon the maps, and Graveline Bay recalls the merchant partner of St. Denis in his romantic expedition to Mexico. In the interior of the island is Point Vendigarde, but the origin of this name is a mystery.

4. Pascagoula. One of the places explored by the Spaniards, but which they did not settle, was the country of the Pascagoula Indians. This is said to mean bread eaters and the origin of the little tribe is of more than passing interest. The French established no post, but a number of Frenchmen settled near the mouth of the river. One of the upper branches was called Chickasahay and it will become better known to us. The Indians lived on the west side of the marshy delta and there is a tradition that a Spanish priest built a mission among them. They gradually turned from their worship of a mermaid to the Catholic service, and learned to love the cross, the bell and the mysterious box on the altar. Once upon a time at midnight, however, the river rose in a tidal wave under the full moon, and on the crest appeared the mermaid, pleading for her children to come back to her. And come back they did, plunging into the water and leaving the priest upon the shore; and then she laughed and disappeared. The father declared that a crucifix dropped in the river at full moon would break the spell, but that the priest who did it would die; and no one has ever dared to try it. They say that the mermaid's music may still be heard under the boats of fishermen and therefore sure it is that the charm has never been broken. However all this may be, La Pointe lived at the mouth of the main stream, not far from the present railroad track, and in Law's time in that bend of the river now called Moss Point was the concession of Madame Chaumont. The river was so winding that there was a famous portage cutting off this great bend, used of old by the Indians and continued even after the French period.

Pascagoula was a part of the Mobile parish and is often mentioned in the church records, both of marriages and baptisms.

5. The Mosquito Fleet. John Law sent colonists from everywhere, particularly from the slums of Paris, but few came to Mobile. Its population was largely due, first to the Canadians, and then to colonists from the west of France. These, like the Normans who settled Canada, were good sailors, for the west coast is deeply indented and developed a seafaring race. Ships came from France but once or twice a year, but there soon developed a coasting traffic about the Mobile waters. The most important, perhaps, was the *traversier* which plied between Dauphine Island and the city, carrying down goods for shipment and bringing back supplies from France. One of the most important officers, therefore, was the *patron* or captain. The names of several of them are known, the one most frequently occurring being Girard. We do not know the name of the first boat, but an early one bore the name of Marguerite. The first *traversier* was of sixty tons and dates from the year Mobile was founded, sometimes going to Pensacola and often to Havana and Vera Cruz for supplies. We would not understand the Mobile settlement if we thought of it as purely local. It was really part of a great French colonial empire in the west. The French West India Islands of San Domingo and Martinique were older settlements and were flourishing. Mobile was a part of this empire, all of which was connected by a large marine trade. Then as now goods were shipped from Mobile to the French islands and French goods brought back in exchange. The boats were small and few in number, but the daring of the sailors was all the greater.

Nor was this coasting trade all. The *habitans* were Catholics, and according to Catholic customs on Fridays and fast days meat was not eaten, while fish food was allowed. The result was a large fish trade. The fishermen

lived near the mouth of the Bay, as they always have, while oysters seem to have come in those days principally from near Dauphine Island.

The tonnage of these small boats varied as well as their names. Shipping reached the west of Europe from the Mediterranean Sea and goes back to the Roman and Phoenician times, and one of the old names was *felouque*, a two masted boat with sloping sails. The Dutch were sailors before the French, and their word sloop gave the name to the French *chaloupe*. There were other small craft named for the Bay of Biscay, and otherwise. On the rivers was used the old Indian canoe, but this was not of bark as on the northern waters. Here it was oftener the trunk of a tree hollowed out first by burning and then by scraping away the burnt wood, until it became often a long boat bearing several tons or many people.

Iberville planned a great shipyard on Dauphine Island, but this was not realized, though small boats were often made in Mobile waters. In proportion they were more important then than now, for there were no roads except the narrow Indian trails, and everything was done by water. For this reason the Creoles all lived on the water when they could, and to these small boats it is due in the many times of famine that the French colony did not perish like Raleigh's colony at Roanoke, but lived on through troubled times to reach at last prosperity.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE TRADE CONTEST WITH CHARLESTON.

1. Coureurs de Bois. The Indians themselves had developed a kind of intertribal trade before the white man came, and had adopted as their own the trails long since made by the buffalo and prehistoric animals. The Mobilians had been crushed by De Soto, but their dialect still remained in America what French had become in Europe, an international language. The aboriginal commerce related mainly to weapons and ornaments, and any collection of Indian remains will show instruments made of stone which have been brought from a great distance. Even among the natives the trader was a well known person and protected by a rough kind of international law. It may not be certain whether the first white travelers were priests or traders; neither left records and their work has been forgotten, but they were actuated by two of the strongest human passions,—love of man and love of money. The one sought to do the Indian good by teaching him religion, the other to enrich himself by buying from the Indian what he was willing to sell. When the trader used the rivers he was called a *voyageur*, when he hunted through the forest, a *coureur de bois*, (woodranger,) and the same man might have both characters. These woodrangers became more than half Indian and sometimes forgot all civilized ties. They would generally bring Indian wares by canoe or pack saddle to the military posts on the St. Lawrence, the Mississippi, or the Mobile, and sell them to the commandants for guns, ammunition, cloth, liquor, and trinkets, which they would trade off again to the Indians in the interior for more goods. Gradually the Indians learned to come themselves, but the

coureur was ever the advance guard of French civilization, whether on the St. Lawrence or on the Gulf.

2. Indian Trade from Mobile. If the Indians had been left to themselves the next step in civilization would have been agriculture. They had already begun to take the step, but their farming was left to the women, while the men remained hunters and fishers. The lack of domestic animals like the horse and ox had prevented much advance, when the coming of the white man put the products of civilization in the hands of the Indian without his passing through this stage which had been found necessary to the white man himself. Whether the Indian would be able to make this leap over a period in civilization was yet to be seen. It might be that he would be like a scholar who omits a year and tries to go along with an upper class for which he is not suited. Time only would tell.

At all events the Indian found himself able to exchange skins, furs, corn and tobacco for clothing, blankets, fire-arms and ammunition, and, sad to say, for fire-water, which he could not learn to use in moderation. Tools for agriculture were not much in demand among the Indians, and hunting was encouraged by the fact that in the trade with the whites the deer skin was the standard of value by which everything else was measured. Twice a year, in spring and fall, furs and skins were brought to Mobile or to the forts on the upper rivers, and in return blue and red cotton goods, blankets, ribbons, guns and ammunition, brass kettles, axes and hatchets were taken back to the nation. The principal French cloth goods were named Mazamet and Limbourg.

If the *coureurs* were somewhat independent, the commandant at the French fort to whom all goods were brought was a royal officer, and the Indian trade was really a royal affair. The hold of the French on the Gulf

Coast was firmly fixed when they built Fort Toulouse and afterwards Fort Tombecbé, except during the time Cadillac offended the Choctaws. Only two villages remained friendly until Bienville was able to win back the upper towns also, but from that time the Choctaws remained the firm allies of the French.

The French established a trading house among the Chickasaws on the upper Tombigbee, among the Cherokees on the shoals of the Tennessee, and even among the upper Indians on the bluff where Nashville now stands. All of these got their goods from Mobile and brought the proceeds there.

3. Adair and the British Traders. However the British might clash with the natives who were their neighbors, Scotch traders were early in the woods and penetrated for hundreds of miles in all directions. This was true almost from the time that Jamestown was founded in 1607 and even more true after Charleston was built in 1680. These British traders would go in caravans from Charleston up the Indian trails, especially to the Cherokees and Muscogees, or Creeks, as they called them from the numerous small streams in the country. Nor did the traders even stop there, for they were found at first among the Choctaws, and at all times among the Chickasaws, and even on the Mississippi River. The founding of Mobile was the first step by the French towards breaking up this trade, and the building of the two French forts up the Alabama and Tombigbee Rivers was the next. Among the British traders there was none more active than James Adair, a Scotchman from Charleston, who has written a famous book on the American Indians. He has never a good word for Mobile in his book and in his trade life did everything possible to extend the British interest over the four great southern tribes. He it was who caused the trouble

among the Choctaws and to him was due the first friendship of the Creeks for the English, and afterwards the hostility of the Chickasaws to the French. There is a very true sense in which the fate of the South could be said to be decided by the contest of the traders from Mobile and from Charleston, and among the Charleston traders there was none greater than James Adair. When Fort Toulouse cut them off from the Alabama, the British erected a fort which they called Okfuskee higher up the Tallapoosa, and changed their trading path to the mountain country between the Tennessee valley and the sources of the Gulf-bound rivers. The Charleston traders were driven back, but took a new hold.

4. *Fort Toulouse.* Fort Toulouse was founded in 1714 below where Wetumpka now stands and was of the greatest importance in maintaining the French hold upon the Muscogees. Its commandant was head of the trade and politics on the border between the French colony of Louisiana and the English colony of Carolina, and his position was not an easy one. Even the soldiers gave trouble, and we often find, both before Law's time and after, that they did not like the service in America. They frequently ran away from the different French posts to Pensacola and even to Charleston. One case was where the garrison mutinied on Cat Island near Biloxi and compelled a man named Beaudrot to pilot them through the woods. They were captured by the Toulouse garrison, and one of the most terrible stories of Louisiana history is their fate. They were taken to Mobile and Beaudrot as well as themselves punished by being nailed up in coffins in the esplanade and then sawn asunder while alive by soldiers from the garrison.

Some years later there was a mutiny of the garrison at Fort Toulouse itself. The commandant Marchand had

married an Indian, spoken of as a princess in the accounts of the day, and their daughter was Sehoy, of whom we shall hear later. For some reason the garrison of the fort rose and killed him, and took to the woods, meaning to go to Charleston. The post always had a Jesuit priest as chaplain, but he happened to be absent that day. On his return he and some others roused the Indians, who were all friendly to the French, and pursued the fugitives and captured them. They were taken back to the fort and thence to Mobile, and there in the esplanade they were shot for the mutiny. Fort Toulouse, therefore, had a somewhat checkered history, but nevertheless always maintained French influence on these upper waters. One of its cannon can still be seen in the State Museum at Montgomery.

5. Fort Tombecbe. Bienville's patron John Law himself fell into trouble and after a few years had to seek safety in flight to Venice. The Company, however, was administered by receivers, and they kept Bienville as governor until 1732. He was not now a great deal at Mobile, for he was striving to build up the numerous concessions on the Mississippi River. The capital had been removed from Biloxi to New Orleans in 1722 and that city was now his headquarters. His successor did not know how to deal with the Indians and not only brought on a massacre by the Natchez, but alienated the Chickasaws, who were friendly with the Natchez.

Bienville was made governor again in 1735 and knew it was necessary to conquer the Indians into friendship. The Chickasaws on their side knew with whom they had to deal. Bienville got together a strong force, left Mobile and proceeded up the Tombigbee River to the great white cliff now known as Jones' Bluff. This he fortified and called Fort Tombecbé. He then marched westwardly

and at a place in northeast Mississippi called Aekia attacked Chickasaw villages, over which floated the English flag. He had not been able to bring up his artillery, and, being deserted by his Choctaw allies, was finally defeated. He then withdrew to Fort Tombecbé, and, much mortified, took his troops back down the river to Mobile.

Bienville attacked the Chickasaws again a year or two later from the Mississippi, and made a treaty with them which did not satisfy him, but at least prevented further trouble from them. While founded amid such unfavorable conditions, the fort always remained and strengthened French influence on the upper Tombigbee. Supplies came regularly from Mobile and Indian wares in large amounts were shipped down the river to the port. The Indians came from all directions and orders connected with the Indian trade still survive in Mobile. They show intimate relations between the French and Indians and cover goods of all kinds.

The timber trade of Mobile began when Iberville got a mast for his ship while the Old Fort was building, but it had attained full force when a commandant of Fort Tombecbé built a great raft of which we are told. During a freshet, when the river was deep, he constructed a raft of cedar logs, drawing twelve feet and containing five hundred tons of timber, and went down the river on it himself with four others. It was unmanageable, for it could not be stopped at the city, and went on out into the Bay and grounded opposite Montrose. This feat has probably not been equalled since.

Toulouse and Tombecbé made the French influence supreme on the rivers.

CHAPTER XV

THE SEVEN YEARS WAR IN THE SOUTH.

1. France and England. It is somewhat remarkable that up to the Nineteenth Century France and England have always been on opposite sides in the European wars. The reason is that they were close together and jealous, and were both great colonizing peoples. Each seemed to feel that there was not room for two colonial empires at one time, and the result was war both in the colonies and in Europe. What is called the Seven Years War, lasting from 1756 to 1763, was their final test. Prussia under Frederick the Great was developing at the expense of the neighboring nations, and France naturally opposed the new power, while England as naturally supported Frederick. An English historian, like Macaulay, may think that the Hindoos in the East and the Indians in the West fought in aid of these European quarrels, but it would be truer to say, for America at least, that the French *habitans* and the English colonists embraced the occasion of the European war to fight out their own differences. Not only was there the constant trade conflict with Charleston, but the partisans of the French and of the English were engaged in actual war, sometimes when there was peace in Europe.

2. The Provincial Town. Bienville had gone back to Europe broken-hearted after the partial failure of his plans against the Chickasaws, and while New Orleans under the stately Governor Vaudreuil could find other interests, it seems that Mobile must share her founder's ill fortune. After the Chickasaw war we find matters did not go well at Mobile. Not only had many people moved to the Mississippi concessions, but there was not much

business carried on at Mobile except in connection with the Indian trade. The city always remained the centre for that business. Its communication with the four great southern tribes was much better than that of the New Orleans and as a matter of policy it was thought better to keep the Indians away from the provincial capital. The colony was not flourishing as a whole, and it was preferable for the Indians not to see this.

Two things in particular marked the Mobile of the later French times. In the first place came a grant to Madame de Lusser which ran a country concession athwart what had been a part of the old city. It may have been proper to grant Madame de Lusser land in place of a pension, but it showed that town property at Mobile was of much less value than formerly. We have light of the same kind also on the city north of the Fort. Mobile had differed from every other city that was founded in America in that it had no protection against the Indians, for, unlike Jamestown and Charleston, it was built upon friendship with the natives and so needed no protection against their enmity. The policy of the later governors of Louisiana had not kept up to the plans of its founders. Sometimes even the Choctaws were hostile, and made free to take the cattle or injure the property of Frenchmen. It became necessary finally to fortify the town and the limits of the palisade which was run showed that the town had shrunk to a small fraction of its old self. A palisade was run in 1748 from the Fort along Royal Street to St. Francis, then westward to St. Charles (St. Joseph), and south to the Fort again, thus taking in only three city squares, besides the fort esplanade, where the court house now stands. There were several gates, three in front where Royal was intersected by the esplanade, Dauphin and St. Francis, and one in the rear at Dauphin and St. Joseph.

The palisade enclosed what was mainly government property, however, and there were many dwellings outside. Possibly seventy-five dwellings are shown upon the map of 1760, which would indicate a probable population of three hundred people. The hospital had always been an institution of the place. Originally it was at the southeast corner of Conception and Dauphin, but in later times was further up, at St. Anthony and Royal. Behind it, near St. Joseph Street, was at that time a little graveyard, and in the block south was the royal warehouse (*magasin*). The main cemetery of the place was still, as it had always been, about the church west of the Fort, probably in the block south of Christ Church on St. Emanuel Street, but extending westwardly also for some distance. Skeletons have been dug up on Theatre Street and also on Government Street not far east and west of Joachim. The cemetery is the one part of a city which grows whether the rest flourishes or not. Another evidence of dullness in Mobile in these later days is that the line of Conti Street had not been preserved. Houses were built over it just as if no street was there, while the actual roadway was about a hundred feet further south and bore the puzzling name of Rue de Concy, (Conty?)

One of the interesting features of this map was a building on the east side of Conception just south of Conti which was owned by the king and devoted to the use of the savages. Here, it is likely, were the Indian congresses which were held in Mobile quite frequently, and here it was that the Indians assembled and voted to the governor Kerlerec in 1754 the title of Father of the Choctaws.

The Fort itself was always kept in good shape. It had long since been rebuilt of brick and surrounded by a moat and grassy slopes (*glacis*), but beyond lay the open ground (*esplanade*) always kept about a fort. The Fort from

tip to tip of the bastions was three hundred feet and from tip to tip of the glacis was five hundred and forty feet, as it had been ever since Bienville rebuilt the post. It was entered across the southern glacis where the jail now stands, and one passed through a brick wall twenty feet high from the bottom of the moat. In three fronts at least were brick casements for cannon, and in the centre an open square or parade, with a flag staff in the centre floating the lilies of France. On the south of the parade were two wells, and east and west were one story barracks for two hundred and sixteen men. In the northwestern bastion was a bake-house, and in the southeastern the powder magazine.

From the eastern parapet of the Fort one could see stretching out to the north and south an open way called Royal Street and then spoken of as the Quay, while in front was the single wharf of the city, narrow in part across the miry bank, but wider towards the eastern end, where it reached the river. From the fort ramparts on all sides lay in full view of the tiled or bark roofs of Mobile. Much of this can be made out from a map which itself has a romantic story. It was made in 1760 by Phelypeaux, and marks in red the royal property. Down in one corner is a Spanish writing which states that the plan was found at the capture of Mobile in 1780. What then became of it is uncertain, but it has now passed into the possession of the Department of the Interior at Washington. It bears the signature of the United States Surveyor General Freeman and is one of the most valuable records which has survived.

3. *Colonial Industries.* If the war prevented much import and export, nevertheless industrial affairs had by this time reached a settled condition. Gold mines had not been discovered, despite exploration towards the west,

but lead near St. Louis and copper near Lake Superior were worked in paying quantities. This did not benefit Mobile very much, for they went through Quebec or New Orleans, but much had been realized in the way of furs and peltry. It is true the attempts to make any use of the coarse hair of the buffalo, on which so much was based at first, had now been abandoned, just as the idea had been abandoned of taming that animal into a beast of burden. Beaver skins were found, but the best still went down the St. Lawrence. Much was done in the way of raising cattle, even in the piney woods about Mobile. Horses had increased and hogs flourished everywhere.

Besides vegetables in the little gardens, much had now been accomplished in the way of agriculture. Experiments showed that wheat did not grow so far south, but it flourished about Toulouse and Natchez. Silk was tried, but with little success. Cotton was known, although not cultivated to any great extent. This seems strange to us now, but it is to be remembered that the large settlements were on the lower rivers and where the pine flourished. Wool was still the main material for clothing and it was not for some time to come that cotton goods were much known outside of Mexico. Sugar cane had been introduced and grew on the Mississippi River, but little was grown near Mobile.

The principal exports of the colony, besides peltries, were found in tobacco and indigo. These were extensively cultivated and had attracted the attention of the observant Charlevoix even in the time of Law's Company.

There was little in the way of manufactures, nor was there a great deal even in France at this time. Fancy articles were made in Paris and woollen goods manufactured in the northeast of France, but the age of manufactures had not yet come. There was little machinery,

and what was produced was what manufacture literally means—hand-made—and made at home at that. Saw mills were known about Mobile, one being specially mentioned on a bayou a league away. Bricks were made and were now in some demand for building purposes, for not only Fort Condé, but other buildings were constructed of brick. Lime kilns turned much of the shell mounds into lime for mortar, and this was not only used with the brick, but, mixed with Spanish moss, was employed to fill the spaces between the posts of the houses.

There were many shops about the little town and shopkeeping (*marchand*) was perhaps the most common employment. A shop then did not mean a big store, but the front room of a colonial home, with wares displayed in the window or out in front, and the business, in true French style, was conducted as often by the wife as by the husband. There were many mechanics and artisans, and of these carpenters were well known. In Europe during the Middle Ages the different branches of trade were organized into close societies called guilds, and, although these did not exist in Mobile, the titles which they invented were in use here. Of these "master carpenter" and even "master cannoneer" are frequently mentioned.

On the whole, therefore, Mobile could live to itself, even in time of blockade.

4. The Blockade. The war in America was fought out mainly in Canada, but hostilities were not lacking in the South. Communication with France was difficult in Bienville's time, and little money came through. Paper money (*bons*) was issued and soon drove out gold and silver, but the paper money soon became worthless, because the king suspended its payment.

There were plans for hostilities against Charleston, but the lack of means prevented anything definite. On the

other hand Mobile was constantly reminded that England was superior on the ocean, by suffering from her first blockade. English ships lay outside the harbor in good weather and prevented French vessels from coming in or out. This was using early what was to become in later days a common act of naval warfare. To all intents and purposes it closed up the new channel which was making by Mobile Point as effectually as the storm of 1717 had closed up that by Pelican Island.

5. Governor and Intendant. The plan of having a military and a civil governor was kept up all through the French times. At first the military governor had ranked all other officers, as we saw in the time of Bienville and La Salle, but gradually the civil officer rose in rank, and, instead of *garde magasin*, we have seen him called *commissaire*, with greater powers. Law's Company had made little change in this respect, but, when the king took back the colony in 1732 and ruled it himself, he put in force in Louisiana the plan of government which prevailed in Canada and in the French West Indian Islands. The military governor found power divided between himself and the *intendant*, who looked after the revenues of the colony. The two officials were almost always at enmity, and it was part of the plan to have them report on each other. The result of their hostility, however, was weakness in the government as a whole.

During the Seven Years War the governor was Kerlerec and the *intendant* Rochemore, and their enmity all but wrecked the colony. Everyone took sides either with the governor or the *intendant*. The *intendant* was shown to have enriched himself by illegal trade with the English and was sent back to France, but when he got there his friends had influence enough to have the governor recalled in his turn, and thrown into the great French prison

called the Bastille. Kerlerec was finally released, but died of grief.

6. The War in Canada. Beyond blockading the mouths of the Mobile and the Mississippi Rivers the British attempted little in the South, but both the English government and the English colonies united in several expeditions against Canada. The English had come to realize the danger of Iberville's plan of forming into one empire the French colonies on the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi, for it would cut off the expansion of the British colonies, if not result in their extinction. At one time it had looked as if the plan could succeed, but to make it succeed the French colonists must outnumber the British whom they hemmed in. The French were the more active and controlled far more of the Indians, but in numbers they had by this time fallen behind the British. The French colonists in Louisiana and Canada together numbered less than one hundred thousand, while the English in New England, the Middle Colonies and those on the South Atlantic together amounted to a million and a half. Three wars had been necessary to bring the matter to a final issue. That of the Spanish Succession had won Acadia and Newfoundland for the English. In the War of the Austrian Succession Louisburg and Cape Breton had been lost to the French, but restored at the peace in 1748. Now in the Seven Years War the English had a leader in William Pitt, who was determined upon the final humiliation of France. Bienville was still living in Paris, a private citizen, and followed all war news with interest; but he was an old man and could only act through his nephews, the sons of Serigny, who were in the navy.

It was from Canada that the French had attempted to take possession of the Ohio Valley, and the English rightly judged that Canada was the heart of the French power in

America. There came, therefore, the expedition under Wolfe which in 1759 fought the great battle on the plains west of Quebec, where both Wolfe and Montcalm fell. This was followed by the surrender of Quebec.

Governor Vaudreuil of Louisiana had become governor of Canada and was able to maintain himself for almost a year after the fall of Quebec. But the British gradually advanced up the St. Lawrence and compelled Vaudreuil at Montreal to surrender the whole of Canada to England on September 8, 1760.

7. Southern Indians and the War. The fall of Fort Duquesne (Pittsburg) had released the French garrison for activity elsewhere. From this time we find them founding St. Louis, and from Vincennes and Fort Chartres stirring up the Cherokee Indians on the upper Tennessee River to hostilities upon the people of Virginia and Carolina. In this the commandant of Fort Toulouse actively cooperated, for he could influence the Lower Cherokees south of the mountains, while the others were reached from the Ohio Valley. Monberault was commandant of Fort Toulouse at this time and came to be much feared by the British. The affection of the Indians for the French was remarkable and Kerlerec held several councils of war at Mobile, which tried to impress upon the French government the absolute necessity of providing for the Indians the usual presents. These now had been lacking for several years. Little could get through the blockade, but such was the address of the French that by promises and cordiality they retained the affections of the Indians, although the British were able and willing to supply them with presents at any time. The governor got together whatever he could and gave it freely, sometimes buying out the private stores at Mobile for this purpose. Perhaps the greatest blow which was struck by the French through

the Indians was the siege and capture of Fort Loudon by the Cherokees on the upper Tennessee River. It was foolish for the British to build a fort over the mountains, far from any hope of relief, and even more foolish to ill-treat hostages in their hands and thus provoke the fury of the Cherokees; and this fact, coupled with the influence of the French on both sides of the mountains, led to the unique instance of a real siege of a fortified post by Indians. The garrison finally surrendered the fort and marched away, but were followed by the Cherokees and massacred almost to a man. One of the few who escaped was Captain John Stuart.

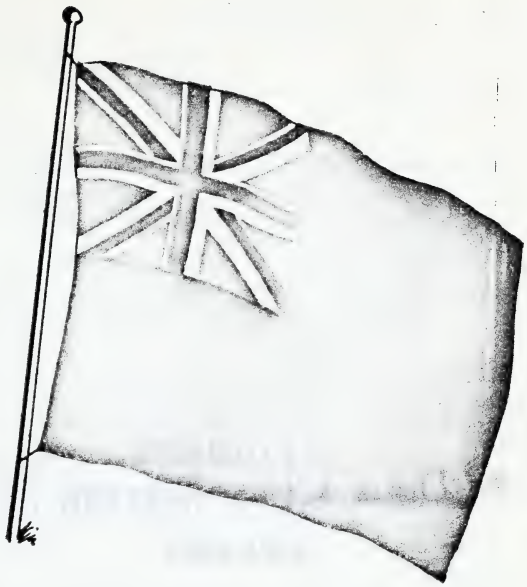
8. Treaty of Paris. The war had been waged on the ocean and in Canada, but it was felt by both French and British that the treaty of peace must settle the whole American question. The French king, therefore, persuaded his kinsman, the king of Spain, to accept a gift of so much of Louisiana as was west of the Misisssippi River and of Bayou Manchac, which led from the Mississippi into the lakes east of New Orleans. This left for disposition at Paris America from the Mississippi River and the Lakes to the Allegheny Mountains, and after long negotiations at Paris the treaty signed February 10, 1763, gave all of this to Great Britian. In the war Spain had aided France, and England had captured Cuba by an expedition led by Lord Albemarle. One of the noted engineers during this siege was a lieutenant, Elias Durnford, whom Albemarle took occasion to thank in public. The treaty, however, retroceded Cuba to Spain, and at the same time settled another old historical problem as to the relation of Mobile and Pensacola; for Spain ceded Florida also to Great Britain. France had desired to keep the interior beyond the mountains for the Indians, but Great Britain wisely enough determined to settle the question for all

time, and thus possessed herself of the whole of America east of the Mississippi and Bayou Manchac.

Cession to England was bitterly regretted in Louisiana and a deputation was sent to France to protest; but the prime minister did not even let them see the king. Royalty had enough to attend to in France itself, for it was the age of the Encyclopaedia, when Church and State were both attacked by brilliant writers. The government was glad to be rid of American questions, and consented to being stripped of all America except a place for Norman fishermen to dry their nets off Newfoundland, and except the French Islands in the West Indies.

The French dream of crushing out the English on the Atlantic by a French empire on the Mississippi and the St. Lawrence had come to an end, and instead of it the much more numerous English colonists on the Atlantic were to use the Mississippi Valley as a back country in which to expand. After the peace Pensacola was occupied and then on October 20, 1763, the French troops withdrew from Fort Condé and Highlanders under Col. Robertson entered to the music of bagpipes, and a royal salute greeted the British flag which broke to the breeze.

The transfer was by a written paper signed by French officers on the side one and by Robert Farmar for England. The French troops withdrew to New Orleans, but most of the people remained, and made out as best they could the proclamation which Farmar issued, changing the name of the fort to "Charlotte" in honor of the young queen of England. Shortly afterwards British troops received possession of Forts Toulouse and Tombecbé, whose names also were changed, and the British flag waved over the whole southern country.



BRITISH FLAG

(Merchant)

PERIOD IV.
A BRITISH METROPOLIS
1763-1780

AUTHORITIES.

Documents. Haldimand Papers (Ottawa); West Florida Records in Alabama Department of Archives, (from British Colonial Records.)

Travels. James Adair *American Indians* (1775); Romans' *Florida:* Jeffreys' *French Dominion;* Roberts' *Florida;* Bartram's *Travels* (1793); Pittman, *Mississippi Settlements.*

Histories. R. L. Campbell, *Colonial Florida* (1892); Von Eelking, *Deutsche Hulfstruppen;* Charles Gayarré, *History of Louisiana;* A. J. Pickett, *History of Alabama.*

CHAPTER XVI.

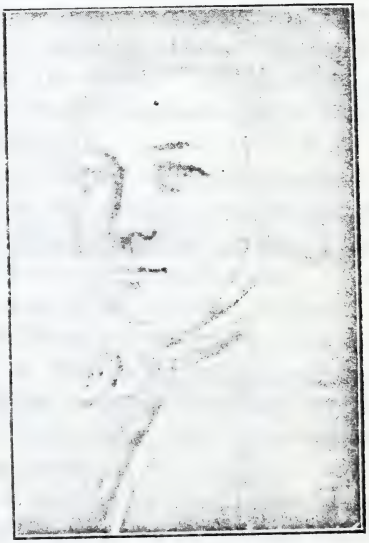
THE NEW GOVERNMENT.

1. Fort Charlotte. The British flag waved over Fort Charlotte not so much as an emblem of conquest as representing the greatest colonizing power the world has ever seen. The three crosses in the corner showed English, Scotch and Irish races united in one, and the new rulers went to work to win another people and to develop the country.

They began with the fort itself and found great need of repairs. For the last two years the French had done very little to keep up the property which they might not retain, and, while the brick outside remained, all the woodwork was old, glasses gone, bake-houses and hospital in bad order, and even the brick-work overgrown with grass. The French took away their cannon and the British brought their own, and between the two the wharf in front was broken down. As Fort Charlotte was the southwestern stronghold, it was important that it be kept in good order, and so the British set to work to do what was necessary. Everything was repaired, including the palisade, which at this time embraced only the square bounded north by Conti Street, and in this the British placed their officers' quarters. There were other rooms added and the interior arrangement was improved. Much of the work was done by a Mobilian named Pierre Rochon, and he long remained the best known contractor in Mobile. The British workmen complained, but he did the best work and got the best contracts. Maj. Farmar was chief in command and sometimes brought artisans out from New York.

2. A New Province. The British government realized that the territory which they had acquired from the French was too large and ill-connected to be governed as a whole. It was therefore divided by a royal proclamation of October 7, 1763, into two provinces, called East and West Florida, separated by the Chattahoochee River. The northern boundary might present some difficulty because the original charter of the colony of Georgia extended westward to the South Sea, as the Pacific Ocean was then called. East Florida could go only to the Georgia line, but about the Chattahoochee Georgia had no settlements. At first the northern line of the two provinces was fixed at thirty-one degrees, which will interest us frequently hereafter. Beyond that line the country was for the present reserved for the use of the Indians, but the northern boundary of West Florida was next year extended to a line running east and west from the mouth of the Yazoo River. West Florida, therefore, was made up of much of the old French Department of Mobile with the mainland of Florida added on the south and the Natchez district added on the west. St. Augustine was made the capital of East Florida, and Mobile was the largest city in West Florida, but Pensacola became the capital. As the French still retained New Orleans, despite the secret cession to the Spaniards, it became important for the British to fortify their west boundary. This they did by establishing forts at Natchez and on Bayou Manchac, which they endeavored to clear of logs and make navigable from Lake Pontchartrain to the Mississippi River. This work was supervised from Mobile, but never proved successful. The British took possession of the North West by an expedition under Maj. Farmar from Mobile, which ascended the Mississippi River from its mouth.

3. Major Farmar. The first governor of West Florida was George Johnstone of the royal navy, but the man acting at Mobile was Major Robert Farmar. He was at this time forty-five years old and gave great uneasiness to the French commandant at New Orleans. He was well educated, admired King Francis I and Emperor Charles V, and would in his correspondence quote Montesquieu and the Magna Charta to the Frenchman. It was reported that he had been in the British Parliament and so troublesome to the government that they sent him to America to get rid of him. He superintended everything for the British in these parts, buying lands for public purposes, making contracts and paying troops. Farmar's Island north of the city was owned by him and he was the first resident on the Tensaw Bluff, now called Stockton. In Mobile he lived at the northeast corner of St. Emanuel and Government Streets, adjacent to the lands used under the French and also under the British for a royal bakery and other public purposes.



MAJ. ROBERT FARMAR

4. Health Resorts. The French had long since become acclimated at Mobile and found it as healthful as anywhere. The British troops had a different tale to tell, for they were brought from the West Indies and indulged on

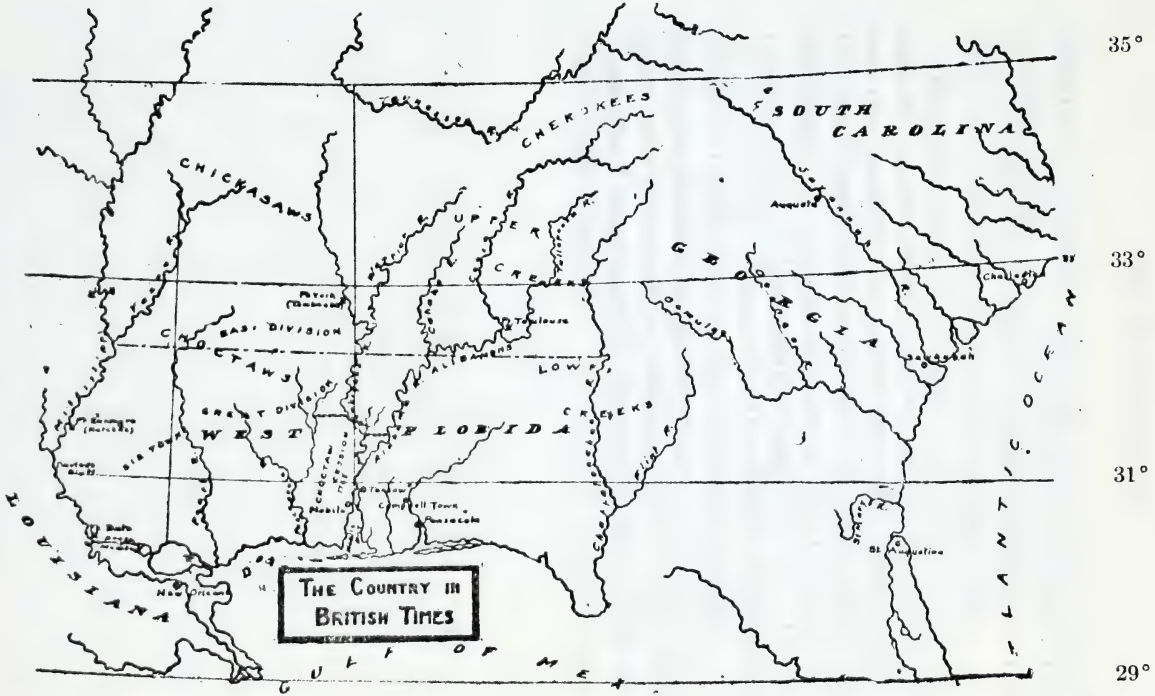
their arrival in all kinds of excesses. The result was great sickness among them. Even the officers and ship captains died. It amounted almost to an epidemic for several years.

A new general-in-chief then came named Frederick Haldimand, and he set himself to work to change conditions. Fever in summer was the principal trouble. He had surgeons examine the matter and Dr. Lorimer spent much time studying the subject. Lorimer attributed it to the dampness of the Fort, which was so near the water, and to the swamps about the town. The first thing done was to have the troops camp in summer at Red Bluff, which was renamed Croftown.

6. Business. Business at Mobile improved greatly in British times. A road was cut across the country from the Village to Pensacola, so that Mobile had the benefit of its own shipping and that which went to the capital also. The engineeer who laid this out was Elias Durnford, who somewhat later had much to do with the survey which produced the first Admiralty Chart of Mobile Bay. A road was planned in the other direction towards Natchez, which was gradually becoming a little town, and the Indian trade became of value once more.

We know the names of a number of the British merchants. One was John McGillivray, whose kinsman had married Sehoy Marchand, and her son was a little boy named Alexander, in future to be famous. The firm of Swanson and McGillivray had branch houses in other places also.

British courts were established. The governor acted as chancellor, and for collection of small debts there was a Court of Requests. The justice of the peace had not yet assumed the importance of later times. Deeds now cease to be made out by the Notary and are documents


35°
33°
31°
29°
CHEROKEES
SOUTH CAROLINA
CHICKASAWS
UPPER CREEKS
GEORGIA
EAST DIVISION
CHOCTAWS
WEST
FLORIDA
LOWER CREEKS
LOUISIANA
GULF OF MEXICO
ATLANTIC OCEAN
THE COUNTRY IN BRITISH TIMES

signed and delivered by the seller to the vendee, and quite a number of them can still be found in the Probate Court. Among them are a series of papers relating to Lisloy, which was sold under a chancery foreclosure sale.

There was a rector belonging to the Church of England, and he was also school teacher, paid by the government; but the most of the people were still French, and the Catholic Church was maintained by the parish. Father Ferdinand, an Acadian refugee of the Capuchin order, remained as priest long into the English period. Gradually his handwriting as shown by the church entries becomes feeble and shaky, and at last it ceases altogether. The good man finished his earthly course and is buried somewhere near the church to which he had so long ministered about the Theatre and St. Emanuel Streets of our day.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE INDIAN BOUNDARY LINE.

1. The Indians. The Indians had become so attached to the French that they were quite uncertain what would be the effect of the change of flag. The British did not any longer need Fort Toulouse, and so they abondoned it, much to the disgust of the Muscogees around, and, while Tombecbé was maintained, its name was changed to York and its importance was much lessened. Indeed the official memorandum shows that it was maintained only to create disputes among the tribes and keep them from uniting to annoy the British.

No higher tribute could be paid to the French than the fact that the British had to turn to a Frenchman to help them influence the native tribes. Monberault we have seen as active while in command at Fort Toulouse. He was much loved by the Muscogees, but left that district, and after the change of flag was living quietly at his country home on Lisloy. From there it was he was called to help the new governors of the country arrange their relations with all the Indians of the interior. He was finally appointed Deputy superintendent of Indian Affairs, being next to John Stuart, superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Southern Provinces, at a salary of two hundred and ten pounds a year, besides rent and some extras.

2. The Treaty of Augusta. The British policy in regard to the Indians was different from the French. The French had regarded them as, equally with themselves, subjects of the French king, and built forts or towns at will without formal purchase from the Indians, who never disputed the right, for they were glad enough to have French posts. The Anglo-Saxons, on the other hand, have never mingled

freely with races of a different color, and one of the leading Virginians, Captain John Smith, had long since uttered the maxim, "The only good Indian is a dead Indian." The government did not adopt this in theory, but acted upon it in practice. When the British desired a site, whether for a city or a plantation, they either bought the land by treaty or seized and held it by war. The result was in the case of the British a well defined frontier, a line between the Indians and the colonists, sometimes pushed back for a time, but always in the long run advancing further and further to the west. Different treaties effected this, sometimes by purchase, sometimes at the close of a war.

In the southern British colonies there are many such treaties, but the most famous was one held in 1763 at Augusta, Georgia. It was attended by the Chickasaws, Creeks, Cherokees and some Choctaws, and was designed to settle the questions of trade and boundary following the close of the war with France. Augusta was not far from the Cofitachequi of De Soto's time, and present were British governors of Georgia, both Carolinas and of Virginia, and also superintendent John Stuart. Stuart well knew the Indians, for he was one of the few who escaped from ill-fated Fort Loudon but a few years before. The line agreed on followed rivers and paths from the Savannah River across to the Atlantic and provided that the government should license and oversee all traders who should come among the tribes. The frontier agreed on, therefore, did not touch anything in West Florida or the old Mobile territory.

3. The Choctaws at Mobile. Monberault began his duties by securing the attendance of the Choctaws at a congress in Mobile and here we find for the first time the distinction between the three divisions of this tribe.

There was less difficulty in treating with the Great Division and the Six Towns who were in the north and west than with the Eastern District on the Tombigbee, who had been more closely in touch with the French. This congress was no doubt held at the Indian House on Conti and Conception, and there the Choctaws were fed for weeks at government expense. Stuart was unable to get enough food to satisfy them and Monberault helped him out from his supplies at Lisloy. At this congress Governor Johnstone, superintendent Stuart and Monberault were present, and the last seems to have been the chief actor in securing the famous treaty of 1765. He showed the Indians, that, while the French had been their best friends, the French had left the English in their stead, and he persuaded them to cede what land the English needed and receive in return the arms, clothing and other supplies which they required. This was done, and the cession agreed on secured to the British the large tract of land between the Chickasahay on the west and beyond the Tombigbee on the east, and extending from the coast up to the springs which we call Bladon. All three divisions finally agreed to this treaty and the chiefs surrendered their French medals and decorations and received in return medals from the British governor.

4. Creek Treaty. Monberault was even better known among the Muscogees and sent his son into their country to bring them down to Pensacola, where a congress was held with them. The leader of the Creeks was called The Mortar, who was distrustful of the British, and it needed all of Monberault's eloquence to show these Indians that they could not get the guns, ammunition and supplies which they needed from anyone except the English. The Indians feared the constant encroachment of the English, but Monberault convinced them that it was necessary

BRITISH MOBILE

for the English to have grounds to till so that they could support themselves and secure the supplies which the Indians needed.

Monberault fell sick, but a treaty was finally secured. The tract granted, however, was much less than that obtained from the Choctaws. In fact all that was granted by the Creeks was land south of the junction of the Alabama and Tombigbee Rivers and extending inland along the coast for twelve miles. The Indians wanted an article inserted that goods should be sold them on their rivers as cheaply as the traders sold them to the Cherokees, and this the governor could not grant, because the provinces and their traders were independent. It was necessary for Monberault to be sent for, sick as he was, and he succeeded in persuading the Indians not to insist upon this provision.

It is a pity to have to add that Governor Johnstone and Monberault fell out after this. Monberault thought his services were great, and, on the other hand, Johnstone, having secured what he wanted, soon dismissed him with anger and Monberault had to escape to New Orleans, leaving Lisloy to become the property of other owners.

5. The Boundary. The boundary between the British and the Choctaws and Creeks was thus well defined, although there is some uncertainty now as to one point named in this treaty of 1765. The line ran up the west side of the Bay and took in the Mobile delta, and thence up the Alabama River to the unknown "Chickianoce," then across to and up what we call Jackson Creek (Bance) and over to the Tombigbee River. It then went up that river to Hatchatigbee, and across to the Buckatunna, and down it to the seacoast which the British already had in possession. The upper few miles, however, were preserved as a neutral ground between the British and the Indians.

The Creek boundary was much more limited and was meant to embrace only the settled plantations. On the north it embraced the French settlement at Tensaw and did not extend further east than the lands around Pensacola Bay. The boundary fixed at Augusta, therefore, did not join that fixed at Pensacola. The Muscogees reserved the land which they owned from the Gulf up to their home places on the Alabama and its sources.

6. How the Boundary Was Run. Writing out the treaty was one thing and running the boundary was another. The treaties date from 1765, but the boundaries were not actually run for six years later. The reason was that it was necessary to secure not only the attendance of Superintendent Stuart, but work by a competent surveyor, and this was not possible in the unsettled condition of the province. Finally, however, watched by representatives of the Indian tribes, the line was run and everything settled. There was no question in the future as to the boundary of this part of the country between the whites and the Indians. The British policy was firmly fixed of acquiring lands from the Indians instead of settling amongst them, and the two treaties of 1765 mark the beginning of a practice which was to be continued by every succeeding government as long as any Indians remained in the South West.

CHAPTER XVIII.

A TRIP ON THE TOMBIGBEE RIVER.

1. British Exploration. The British have always been practical, and this is as true in the matter of geography as in anything else. The supremacy of their navy has made coast survey of great importance, as we see in the case of Thomas Jeffreys even before Mobile was acquired from the French. They were also more persistent on land than the French, for after acquiring territory they faithfully explored it. Mobile they knew was the outlet from the extensive Alabama-Tombigbee River Basin, and they were not content with the maps platted by the French, but undertook gradually to map out the whole country and see what products could be derived from it. After they had run their boundary with the Choctaws, superintendent Stuart sent out Capt. Bernard Romans to explore the Indian country about the Tombigbee River and its sources. Romans was a captain in the army and faithfully executed his commission.

2. Picture Writings. Romans left Mobile on a Saturday afternoon in September, 1771, accompanied by a party of Choctaw Indians and headed through the pine forest towards the west. He spent the first night at our Spring Hill and for several days was crossing or heading Dog River and other streams. Near the Pascagoula River he found a Choctaw "hieroglyphick," or picture-writing, showing that these Indians had killed and scalped nine Creeks. This was cut on a stone, and a few days later after passing the Buckatunna River he found another, this time a Creek picture-writing showing that warriors of the Stag family had there scalped two Choctaw men and two women and rowed off in triumph. He saw

another such picture later on the Tombigbee. The marks of the Indians were frequent, such as paths, fields, and camps, and occasionally a head stuck on a pole reminded him of the war then in progress between the Creeks and Choctaws. Soon after leaving Mobile they saw three graves. One of these was of a French soldier, one of a drunken savage and hence named Rum-Drinker's Hill, and the other of a trader named Brown, who had lived a good deal in the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations. At a Choctaw town Romans and his party put up at a house of the resident trader, Hewitt, and from there they went on until they reached Ben James' house at Chickasahay.

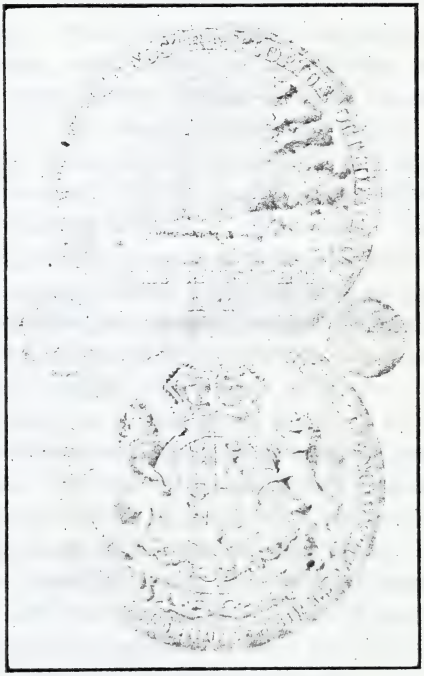
3. Indian Wars. The British adopted a different Indian policy from the French. They no longer took sides with one nation against another, for their real plan was to let the Indians exterminate each other, and the government officers quietly encouraged the Indian tribes to fight. Shortly before Romans made his exploration there had been a civil war among the Choctaws themselves, and he saw many traces of it in the burned towns among the eastern division of the tribe, who lived near the Tombigbee River. He was also witness to many warlike events in an existing war between the Choctaws and the Creeks. Not only did he see human heads stuck on poles, but at one place found the Choctaws exulting over a victory, and after he reached the Tombigbee he almost ran into a Creek ambush. This war party had a fire of hickory bark, which makes little smoke, and put it out when they saw the party of white people approaching. Romans and his friends had off their hats as well as their coats, for the day was warm, but, to show that they were whites and not bareheaded Indians, they quickly put their hats on again, and thus avoided being fired upon. Frequently they came upon bark rafts left by the Indians after some expedition,

and more than once an Indian canoe was of great help to them.

The seat of war was about the mouth of the Noxubee River, and there the white party exercised special caution. Even when they slept at night they built a big fire and put their hats on high poles round about. The Indians were not always hostile. The river ran through Choctaw territory, and where Creeks had not invaded Romans found the Choctaws friendly enough, and bought supplies from them at different times. Once he accidently left a silver spoon and tried to get the Indians to go back for it, and learned that they would have been willing to do this if it had been lead or pewter, for then, if the reward was not paid, the Indians could have melted it into bullets; but silver had no attractions, as it was too hard for them to use. They called silver the "white stone," but so useful was lead that their name for it was the "fat of the earth."

4. Among the Chickasaws. Romans went through Choctaw country, visiting Yoani and making Hewitt's home his headquarters, but he soon proceeded further northward and crossed the Noxubee and Octibbeha Rivers on the way. Octibbeha is Choctaw for Fighting Water, and was so named because it was the boundary between the Choctaws and Chickasaws, who were so frequently at war. The Indian commissary took away Romans' horse and does not seem to have been as polite generally as the Choctaw agents. Finally they reached the Tombigbee about Town Creek, and there got beavers for food. They lived throughout the trip by hunting birds and other game. They embarked on the water at Town Creek, which in Chickasaw bore the name of White Man's Trouble. This was in the neighborhood of Bienville's defeat years before and the name may refer to that event, and it was in this country that De Soto also spent a troubled winter.

5. Bluffs and Bars. Romans with his guide Dow and a white servant proceeded down the river in a canoe, and a voyage of a month and six days brought them finally to Mobile. On the way he made a careful study of river bluffs, bars, and other natural features, many of which can still be identified from his description. The second day he saw an Indian trading house on a bluff and near there Romans had the misfortune to have his gun jerked from him by a snag, and it then sank in deep water. Octibbeha he mentions again, the Nashebaw, which is Sipsey River, and the Noxubee. The abandoned French fort Tombecbé on its high, steep bank of chalky stone Romans visited and sketched. To the creek which there empties into the river he gives the Indian name of Ectomboguebé, translating it as Crooked Creek, while others translate it as Tom's Creek. Below the mouth of the Tuscaloosa he saw a chalky bluff called Chickasaw Gallery, where these savages used to



SEAL OF WEST FLORIDA
(French Sou at Sides)

fire on the French boats. The country he describes as very fine, yielding to the Indians sixty and eighty bushels of corn per acre, and growing horses, hogs and game plentifully. This is what we now call the Black Belt. Below were the remains of villages abandoned by the Alibamons, who followed the French westward after the treaty of Paris. Nana Falaya Hills, Tuscahoma, Hatchetigbee, Sentibogue, and other familiar names he mentions, as well as Three Rivers, Naniabeá, and places easily recognized still on the lower Tombigbee River.

6. A Christian Roof. He noticed that the tide ran high up the river and was informed that it reached some miles above what we call Carney's Bluff. We know that some time in the French period Drapeau lived at the mouth of the Okelousa, and Romans found many settlers on the river, some with British names and others French. Favre's he mentions as the first Christian habitation which he had been in since September, and he had reason to be glad of it, for that night there came on a prodigious storm of wind and rain, which he weathered out under a good roof. From there on down to Mobile he saw frequent plantations on the western bluffs, amongst which he mentions Chastang's, which stood on a high horse-shoe commanding views up and down. Lower he found the ruins of the first French settlement, and soon saw the plantation of Mr. Lizard, for whom the creek opposite is named. This was an old settlement made by a French commandant and afterwards owned by the celebrated Grondel. After Romans' trip, Lizard was murdered and the plantation passed into the hands of the Mobile merchant McGillivray. The trip ended on January 19, 1772,—the first detailed exploration of the Tombigbee River.

7. Summary. The French used the Tombigbee a great deal and were familiar with it, but left no maps of the

BRITISH ADMIRALTY CHART, 1771

country which it drains. The exploration by Romans, therefore, was much needed and was well done. He notes that the upper river ran through clay soils and the lower through sands and pine hills. Canes were common only below McIntosh Bluff, and there the pine barrens first came to the river's edge. He made Superintendent Stuart a present of a canoe measuring forty-seven feet above the third joint. The joints were twenty inches long and five inches around, and he met with other canes as large. He not only mentions deserted Indian villages, as of the Wetumpkees at what we call Carney's Bluff, and French plantations, which were mainly on the islands in the delta, but he looks forward to the future. He noted that just below the last rapids, later to be known as McGrew's Shoals, where the Indians had a trail across the river, there was a remarkable bluff on the west bank fifty feet high. Sloops and schooners could come up to these rapids and he predicted that a large settlement would be made here. This did not come at once, but here was founded at a later period the famous town and Fort of St. Stephen. Even at this time he met some of the settlers who were making the lower Tombigbee a real British colony. Below Carney's Bluff he visited Thomas Baskett, a well known citizen, who had with him several hunters, and what we know as Bassett's Creek was once called Baskett's from this Englishman. We know also that about this time an Englishman named Sunflower had a plantation upon that great bend of the Tombigbee River which has ever since borne his name, and, although Romans did not notice it, at this time the Indian interpreter James McIntosh was living on the bluff named for him, and there was a little baby there, his grandson, who was afterwards celebrated as George McIntosh Troup, governor of Georgia.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE JOURNEYS OF A BOTANIST.

1. William Bartram. The military authorities explored the Tombigbee and the Indian country to the west, and five years later the country east of the Alabama River was visited by a man in civil life with a very different object in view. In Philadelphia at this time lived a well known botanist named John Bartram, who had established the earliest botanical garden in America, and a London doctor became interested with him in finding out what new herbs and medicines British Florida could produce. This Dr. Fothergill, despite the troubled state of public affairs, arranged with Bartram's son William to explore the lower South, and on the errand the younger Bartram spent several years. In this way we come to know the Creek country on the east as well as Romans has taught us to know that of the Choctaws on the west.

2. Mobile. Bartram was in Charleston and peninsula Florida from 1773 on and finally went westward from Georgia by way of Talase on Tallapoosa River. He mentions the Schambe (Escambia) River as draining a dark and bloody border ground between the Indians, and finally reached Taensa Bluff, on what we call the Tensaw River, thirty miles above Mobile. Major Farmar then lived there on the site of the old Indian town of Tensaw, marked by mounds of earth which afforded a spacious prospect over the river delta. Up to this point Bartram had traveled overland, sometimes with Indian traders, but here he took boat for the city. Like Romans he found islands of the delta laid out in plantations owned by Frenchmen. Mobile was on rising ground, extending a half mile back from the river. At this time the town was

not flourishing, but there were some good buildings, inhabited by Frenchmen, English, Scotch and Irish, as well as by people from the northern colonies. Swanson & McGillivray were the great Indian trading house of that day, and had extensive buildings. We do not know exactly where these were, but they were near the river, for that was the main thoroughfare of the time, and they could not have been far from the King's Wharf in front of the Fort, for there was no other wharf in use. Fort Condé Bartram described as in good order, and the French houses in town were of brick, one-story high and enclosing a large courtyard, with the principal room on the side fronting the street. This arrangement of a house built around a court was the usual one in France and continental countries. The poorer classes, however, were content with cypress frame houses filled in with brick, plastered and whitewashed inside and out. Bartram was at Mobile in July and experienced the hot weather and thunder storms which sometimes mark that period.

3. New Medicines We remember how the French had found strange plants and made new drugs, and Bartram to some extent went over the same ground. He sailed back in a trading boat to visit Major Farmar at Taensa and the major loaned him a boat and a negro to explore the water courses. Bartram notes particularly the wax myrtle, which afforded a scale harder than beeswax and made candles which burned longer. There were no bees in the colony, except one hive in Mobile lately brought from Europe, although they abounded on the Atlantic. The evening primrose he thought to be the most brilliant plant that exists, with its daily succession of hundreds of petals, each over five inches. Canes and cypress he found very large, and peaches and dark purple figs astonished him. He went into raptures over the star anise, the cucumber

tree, the buckeye, youpon, woodbine, gum elastic, great water lilies and many other plants. Corn and potatoes he found cultivated near the site of the first Fort Louis, on which the river was even then encroaching, and indeed on many bluffs he found deserted plantations and ancient Indian villages, for the country did not appear to be thriving. But finally Bartram had an attack of fever, and he put some of his new medicines in use. He went thirty miles to get some citronella tea, prepared by steeping the tops in boiling water, and drank it at breakfast.

4. The Coast. Bartram also explored the coast. He made a side trip to Pensacola, having some experience with mosquitoes on the way, and there met Governor Chester and other officials. At last he sailed from Mobile in a French boat for Pearl River, stopping on shore at nights. About Dog River he saw three vast iron pots of many hundred gallons used to boil tar to pitch, for naval stores were quite an industry under the British. He had not got over his fever and finally had to land on the Sound for treatment. A fly plaster between his shoulders, however, cured him. He slept twenty-four hours and when he awoke he says he thought he was in Heaven.

5. The Indians. We learn much of the Creek Indians from Bartram, for he visited them going and coming. He gives a list of the towns of Indians upon the Coosa and Tallapoosa, as well as those upon the Chattahoochee River, and we see that there had been little change even since De Soto's time. Many of the names are practically the same in the Spanish and French books as well as in Bartram's book. During his westward trip he also saw a village called Alabama, for the Indians who had been on the river of that name had followed the French when they left. At this time they lived two miles above the wooden bridge which spanned Bayou Manchac, the boundary

between the British and Spanish colonies. The British had a fort at one end of the bridge and the Spaniards had a fort at the other end, for they were suspicious of each other.

6. Bartram's Return. Bartram came back to Mobile and made up his collections of roots and seeds and other specimens for shipment by sea to Dr. Fothergill at London, while he himself returned to Charleston with a caravan of Indian traders. Even on the way back the observant botanist discovered a kind of pecan and a yam which bears fruit amongst leaves two feet above the ground. He kept notes of his trip and they were published in book form in Philadelphia and at Dublin after the Revolutionary War. It is remarkable that the book says nothing about that war, which was then in progress, and that he had no difficulty getting from Charleston to the North. It is interesting to note that his father's botanical garden continued to grow in value and that it was finally bought for the city of Philadelphia.

CHAPTER XX.

COLONIAL POLITICS.

1. The Early Governors. Under the French there had been little distinction between the military officers and the civil officials. Self-government however, had always been a British institution and was carried over into all the American colonies. West Florida had a governor who looked after civil affairs, while military matters were controlled by the commander-in-chief of the troops stationed in the different forts. The first governor was George Johnstone, who had been a naval officer. He was an active but rather fiery man, who by proclamation gave a glowing description of West Florida to draw settlers, and on the other hand in his zeal quarrelled with the military. The government, however, was not merely by the governor, for as in all British colonies there was a legislature, called a General Assembly, of which the lower house was called the House of Commons, elected by all men who owned property. The second governor died on his way over from England and the third was Montfort Browne, who proved to be even more quarrelsome than Johnstone. He had a number of duels and was finally removed from office. He was succeeded by Elias Durnford, the official surveyor of the province, and an excellent man. The next governor was Peter Chester, who is the best known of them all. The capital of the province was Pensacola and Chester lived in the country nearby, keeping up a good deal of style. He was a firm man, but beloved by even those who opposed him.

2. The Military. As New Orleans and Louisiana west of the Mississippi were retained by France and afterwards held by the Spanish, it was important to put the military

in West Florida on a strong footing. Besides Fort Charlotte at Mobile, as Fort Condé was now called, a fort was built on Pensacola Bay around which grew up the new town of that name, and three other forts were built on the Mississippi River for the protection of that quarter. The commander in chief at first was Major Robert Farmar, who afterwards underwent a court martial, but was acquitted and lived on the Tensaw River. The most famous of the soldiers in command of West Florida was Frederick Haldimand, a French Swiss in the British employ. He

BRITISH CANNON (BIENVILLE SQUARE)

reported direct to General Gage in Boston and was prominent during the early part of the American Revolutionary War. Haldimand got on well in this old French province and the papers which he left behind give a great deal of information about his times. When Haldimand was sent away General Campbell succeeded him at Pensacola.

3. Land Grants. The upper branch of the legislature was called the Governor's Council, and it had the power of granting public lands. The French had not been systematic in their grants, but the British were. A man asked for so many acres and after it was surveyed the

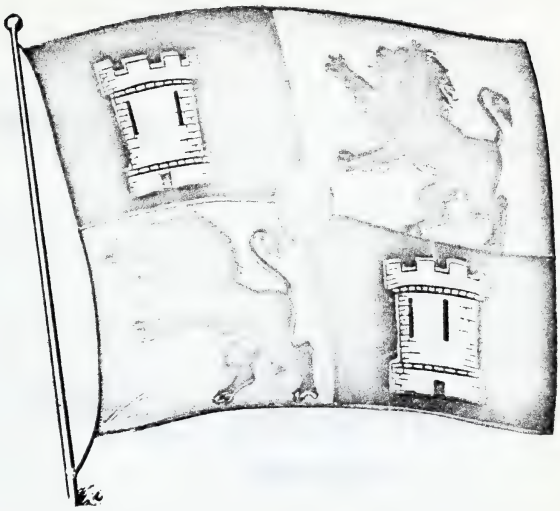
grant, signed by the governor, was recorded and given him. Land was granted to settlers and also to soldiers in order to attract them to West Florida. A private soldier received so many acres and officers received more. Now as in French times the land granted faced a river, creek or bay, because there were few roads and water was the means of going about. We find some grants up on the Tombigbee, mainly on the west side.

4. *Religion.* The French were still in the majority in Mobile and of course attended their own church not far from the present Christ Church, where Father Ferdinand was their priest. England, however, was Protestant and had its own church, and this was now the official church of the province. There was therefore an English rector and church, attended by British officers and residents. We do not know exacty where this building was. The pastor for a long time was Rev. William Gordon and he also conducted the first English school in Mobile.

5. *Legislature.* The Council was appointed by the British government but the local House of Commons was elected at meetings held by the sheriff. There came to be in time four election districts. One was Pensacola, another Mobile, which was the largest city in the province, and after a while Natchez on the Mississippi, and Campbelltown near Pensacola. There were a number of sessions of the Legislature and the laws of the province show a great deal of care. They covered all the needs of the colony, but particularly relate to the Indian trade, to public roads, to taxes and the church matters. They were approved by the governor, but could be made void by the King's Council in England. One of the laws made void was to establish a separate court for Mobile.

6. *Disfranchising Mobile.* Governor Chester once wrote home to the British government that the Mobile merchants

did not want a legislature and Mobile members did not attend the legislature when it met, because the Mobile merchants wanted no trade regulation for fear it would prevent selling liquor to the Indians. There arose a dispute with the governor because Mobile voters wanted a legislature elected every year, so as to have it responsible to the people. Once when the election was held they made the sheriff put on the election paper which they signed that the members were chosen for only one year. Governor Chester considered this treason and the home government thought the same, and, therefore, would not permit Mobile to have any vote at all. The legislature took up for Mobile, however, and declined to hold any session, and Governor Chester had to get along the best he could without a legislature. While West Florida had not up to this time taken any part in what we call the Revolutionary War, not much was now needed to fan discontent into revolution, and Mobile was the leader despite danger of invasion by the Spaniards in the west. And the leaders were not of the old French stock, who might have been deemed discontented, but the English and Scotch merchants, who were drilling in the militia to meet the Spaniards if they came. The French from the time of Louis XIV obeyed the government, whatever it might be, but the British from the time of Charles I were restless whenever they thought their political rights in danger. And this was the case at Mobile; but there suddenly came a more pressing danger.



SPANISH FLAG

(Eighteenth Century)

PERIOD V.
OLD SPANISH TOWN
1780-1813

AUTHORITIES.

Documents. White, *New Recopilacion*, 1839; American State Papers, *Public Lands*, particularly Vols. III and V; Translated Records and Original Records Mobile Probate Court; Wills, Deeds and other papers in Mobile Probate Court; Suits as to John Forbes and Company in Mobile Chancery Records.

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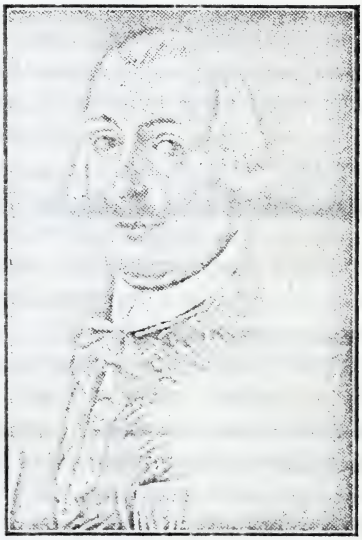
CHAPTER XXI.

A LATIN GOVERNMENT.

1. Captured by the Spaniards. When France ceded the Mobile country to Great Britain by the Treaty of Paris, she also ceded to Spain New Orleans and Louisiana west of the Mississippi. The French remained in control there for some time, but finally the Spaniards took possession, and, when the Creoles attempted a revolution, it was cruelly put down. Spanish rule, however, gradually became mild. France was the ally of the British colonies in their war with the mother country, but, while Spain showed sympathy, she never allied herself with the American colonists. The governments of British West Florida and Spanish Louisiana were never cordial, and each had plans to conquer the other at the first chance; and a young Spanish governor named Bernardo Galvez found his chance when Spain declared war on England in 1779. He organized an expedition which captured the British posts at Manchac and Natchez, and then sailed for Mobile. He landed in the Bay, marched across to the rear of the town,



GALVEZ

and bombarded the fort from the northwest. A good deal of the town itself was burned, and Durnford, not receiving aid from General Campbell of Pensacola, was forced to surrender Fort Charlotte. Campbell finally marched for Mobile, but too late, and the Spaniards defeated the British near the Eastern Shore and built what came to be known as Spanish Fort. The flag with the emblems of the castle and the lion, had returned, and now meant a firmer hold and a more lasting rule than in the time of De Soto.

2. The Government. At first Galvez imposed martial law, but, after Pensacola had been captured also and Great Britain in 1782 ceded West Florida to Spain, the usual Spanish civil rule was introduced.

While Galvez was governor general at New Orleans, West Florida had its own governor, who looked after military affairs, and an *intendant* who looked after revenues and civil matters. At Mobile the commandant had both military and civil duties, and enjoyed a number of titles showing his different offices. The official who was closest in touch with the life of the people was a judge called the *alcalde*, corresponding to the American justice of the peace, but having wider powers. There was one at Mobile, another on the Tensaw, and still others in different places. The *alcalde* decided most of the law suits, and there was an appeal from him to the commandant. The commandant was somewhat like a probate judge in the case of death. He took charge of the dead man's property and sealed it up, until it was sold to pay debts, much as was the custom under the French.

Under these commandants no political activity was allowed, such as that smouldering when the Spanish invasion came, but there was no occasion for it. Many of the British merchants retired with the British army,

and those who remained with the more numerous French reconciled themselves to a government which sought the welfare of the people, although it did not encourage that private activity on which in the long run their true wefare must depend.

3. The Commandants. There were about a dozen commandants at Mobile during the Spanish times and some of them were men of fine character. One of the best known was Folch, who became *intendant* of the province afterwards. Possibly the best loved, were Lanzos and Osorno, who came later. The last was to be Perez, who lived in Mobile also in American times. The square north of the fort esplanade, that is to say, bounded by St. Emanuel Conti, Royal and Government Streets, had been ever since its enclosure by the French really part of the fort itself. Here were the officers' quarters in French times, and here in Spanish times the commandant lived. Lanzos' residence was the norteast corner of St. Emanuel and Government Streets, facing on the parade ground and its little park, which surrounded the fort. He did not live in the present building, but in a brick residence, with wide galleries in front, farther back in the lot.

An officer of almost as great importance was Miguel Eslava, who was royal treasurer and at the same time the commissary, who supplied the food for the troops and looked after repairs on all public property. He lived in the square south of the fort enclosure, on a hill overlooking the river. The lot was surrounded by high pickets and the house itself was built of materials brought over from Spain. It was near the site where Bienville lived in the early days of Mobile.

4. Spanish Records. The government made grants of land on easy terms, for it wished the increase and prosperity of the people. The form was different from that in English

times, when the Council heard applicants and made grants. Now the person wishing lands made written application to the commandant of Mobile, giving a description, and the commandant added a note whether the land was vacant and the applicant worthy; and finally the intendant made a formal grant, with a direction to the surveyor to put the applicant in possession. Sometimes when there was no *intendant* the governor or even the commandant would make the grant. Deeds between private citizens were in much the same form as under the French, for the notary now also drew up all agreements as made befo rehim, and the parties signed in his presence. Often the commandant acted as notary too. All government proceedings were in writing, the entry of one officer being written after that of another in a little blank book, sewed together, the whole making a complete record. This was done if the fort had to be repaired, a deed made, property divided, or a suit tried between citizens, and hundreds of these little books, neatly folded in packages, are still preserved in the Mobile Probate Court. They are hard to read because the writing and the words are antique, but from them can be made out much of the history and customs of the times.

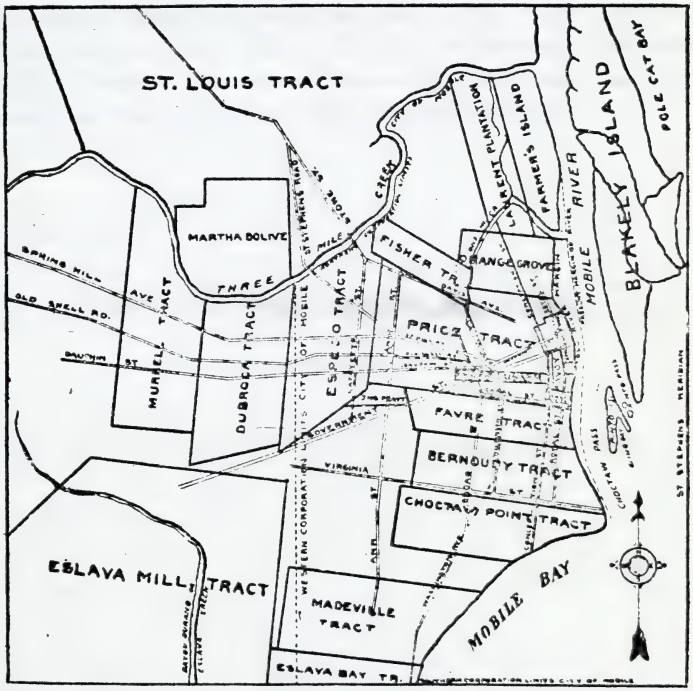
5. American Adventures. The bulk of the population was still French and the Spaniards were only the ruling class. As no more French or Spaniards came, however, the growth of the population gradually came to be from the Americans. One of them was Josiah Blakely of Connecticut, who lived on Royal Street opposite the Catholic Church, and gradually became owner of much land. He wrote a charming letter back to his old home people about his new home and about Blakely Island, opposite Mobile, one of his possessions. Another was William E. Kennedy, a doctor from Georgia, who became probably the greatest land owner of all. His largest purchase was

of the 1,100 acres granted Thomas Price for back salary. His brother, Joshua Kennedy, followed him later and had a saw mill near the present Stockton. John Murrell was blacksmith and mason, and among later comers was Samuel H. Garrow. All Americans did not become Catholics, but they were Spanish citizens and often by marriage they became allied to the Creole families of Mobile.

6. Land Grants. The Spanish land grants are of special interest to us because on them are founded the titles in the present city and in much of the surrounding country. They were generally of 20 acres (*arpens*) front on a watercourse by forty deep. There are some twenty-one grants in the present limits of the city of Mobile, and many more than this on Mobile and Tensaw Rivers, and on the Bay. Some, like Farmar's Island above Mobile, the Orange Grove next south, and the Fisher Tract near by, are really British grants, but they were confirmed by the Spaniards to the British claimants. The St. Louis Tract north of Three Mile Creek and the Mandeville Tract on the Bay date even further back, for they are French grants. The main city was north of the fort, and extended from Government to St. Louis Street and was bounded west by Joachim.

Its streets and lots ran from the boundaries of the town to the esplanade. The Spaniards made grants very close to the fort, such as to McVoy Tract west of it and Collell south of it, besides letting Espejo build a wharf north of the royal wharf and giving him the marsh land west up to Royal Street. In fact the whole river margin was gradually reclaimed and parcelled out by the *intendants*. South of the city large plantations were granted to Favre and Bernoudy, which became tracts bearing these names, while the tract at Choctaw Point on the south as well the Orange Grove on the north became th eproperty of

John Forbes & Co. The foresight of Forbes may be seen in the fact that these two last grants have become the centre of much of the railroad and cotton industry of the present city. The largest tract of land is called the Price Claim, made up of two grants to the Indian interpreter in payment



SPANISH LAND GRANTS

of his salary, and bought from him by William E. Kennedy. The principal residence portion of Mobile is now situated within its limits. Further west Antonio Espejo obtained a grant facing on Three Mile Creek and west of him came DuBroca, where the present Convent is, and

Murrell had a tract next west. Spring Hill is also a Spanish grant. Eslava got a grant on the Bay and also built a mill southwest of the city, which was the basis of his claim to the largest claim of all, the Eslava Mill Tract. There was to be much question about this, as about a great many farther away from the city. Dozens of grants could be named, including even the site of Old Fort Louis at Twenty-Seven Mile Bluff. Indeed, no favorable location on the rivers or Bay was without a Spanish grant, and the same was true along the coast and at Pensacola.

CHAPTER XXII.

ELLICOTT'S LINE.

1. Pinckney's Treaty. The independence of the United States had been recognized by Great Britain in the Treaty of Paris of 1782. These states all faced the Atlantic Ocean, but Kentucky and Tennessee were soon added on the west from land given by Virginia and North Carolina. This was the beginning of the movement of people to the country west of the Alleghenies. A trade sprang up between these western settlements and the Spaniards on the Mississippi River and it became important to define the boundary between the United States and Spanish Florida. Great Britain had recognized the line of 31 degrees North Latitude, but Spain claimed that by her earlier conquest from Great Britain she owned up to a line passing near Vicksburg. During troubles in Spain growing out of the French Revolution, however, the American Ambassador Pinckney was able to get Spain to agree to the line of thirty-one degrees.

2. Fort St. Stephen. The forts up the rivers had been of no great use since the French times because one nation now claimed the whole territory. Toulouse had been completely abandoned, but the Spaniards used Tombecbé sometimes under the new name of Fort Confederation. The real seat of Spanish influence among the Indians was a fort which they had built below the rapids of which Bartram spoke as the place for a considerable settlement. There on a steep bluff, fifty feet above the river, was a square earthwork, with cannon commanding the river and the neighboring country. They named it Fort St. Stephen and nearby grew up a small settlement, which was often visited by the Choctaws. We have still records of

the grant of tracts of land on the river above and below the fort, showing that the neighborhood was well settled and prosperous. Now, however, the Spaniards found to their regret that this St. Stephen district was above the line of 31 degrees and must be given up to the Americans.

ELLICOTT STONE

3. Running the Line. The Americans had difficulty getting the colonial officers to run this boundary, for it would leave Natchez also on the American side and the Spaniards were reluctant to give it up. Finally the

Americans sent Andrew Ellicott, a Quaker surveyor, and he and Sir William Dunbar for the Spaniards began running the line in 1798. Ellicott came to Mobile and went up the river, and has published his Journal, showing how he located the line and placed on a hill the stone which has ever since been known as Ellicott's Stone. On both sides it has "Lat. 31 degrees, 1799," and it has from that time been a famous mark in surveying. It was especially hard to get the line across the swamps and rivers to the eastern shore near Tensaw, but he managed to do this by means of fire and smoke signals agreed upon. The line had been thus brought from the Mississippi to the Mobile River and Ellicott carried it on the Chattahoochee River, and with a slight change in its direction from there to the Atlantic Ocean. He had some difficulty with the Creek Indians east of the Mobile River, for they did not understand what right either the Spaniards or the Americans had to run a boundary line through their woods.

4. *The American Occupation.* As soon as it was learned that Fort St. Stephen was on the American side, troops from Natchez cut their way through the pine forests to that point, and shortly after their arrival the Spanish commandant withdrew down the river to Mobile. While it was not then realized, this was the beginning of the Spanish retreat before the Americans which has lasted until our own day. McClarey occupied the fort and the descendants of the old British settlers found themselves under the rule of an English-speaking race again. Many of them were of Tory stock, their fathers having been loyalists who had fled or had been driven from Georgia during the Revolution.

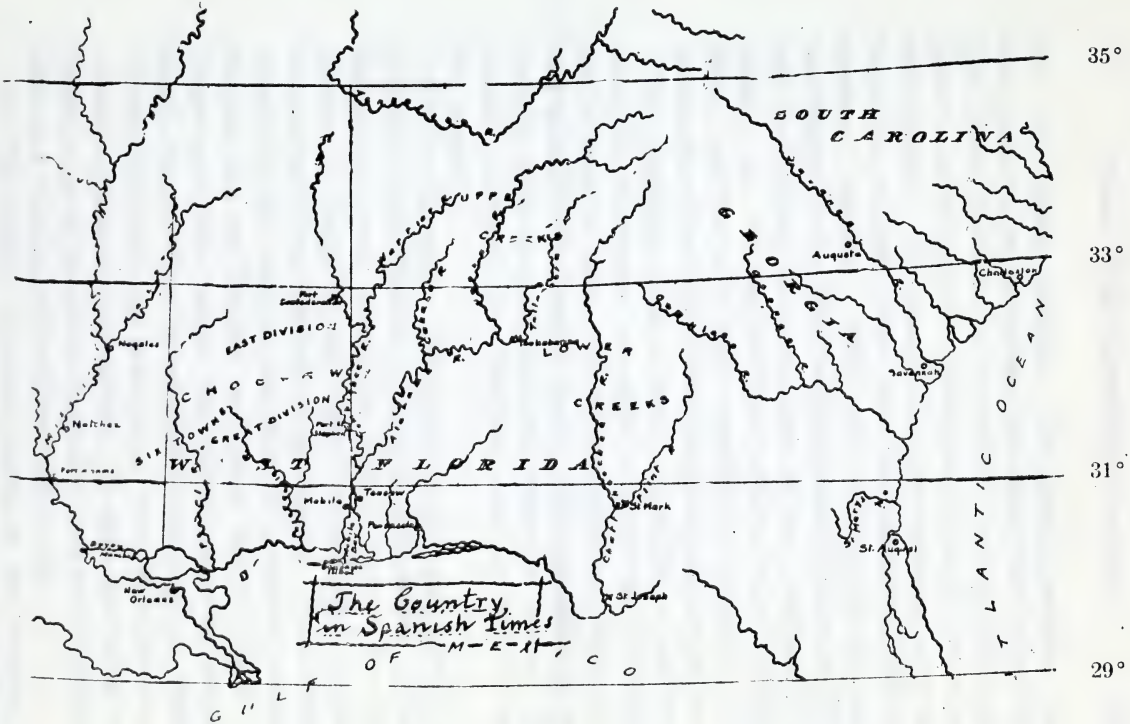
5. *The Louisiana Purchase.* It was supposed that a fixed line had been drawn between the American and Spanish possessions, but when Napoleon became supreme in

Europe he forced Spain in 1800 to cede to France the province of Louisiana. This not only caused questions as to how far that province extended, but the United States were not willing to have so powerful a neighbor as France at the mouth of the Mississippi River. As a result President Jefferson negotiated for the purchase of New Orleans, and Napoleon, being on the point of a war with England and needing money, finally offered to sell the whole province for fifteen million dollars. The offer was accepted in 1803 and French officers received the province from Spain by running up the French flag at New Orleans, and a few days later they turned it over to the Americans, who ran up the flag of the United States over the Cabildo, or government house. The importance of this to the Mobile country lay in the fact that the United States insisted that Spain in 1800 had ceded to France and France in 1803 had ceded to the United States all territory east to the Perdido River and therefore including Mobile. The wording of the treaties was not clear, but the United States from now on always claimed that Mobile was American. On the other hand, Spain insisted that Florida south of thirty-one degrees was not part of Louisiana and remained Spanish as before, and Spanish officials continued in the discharge of their duties at Mobile. In point of fact the United States tacitly admitted the Spanish claim by not taking any steps to occupy Mobile. The point became important later, however, in regard to the grants of land made by the Spanish officers after the date of the Spanish cession to France. If Mobile was French, the Spaniards had no right to make grants of land to anyone. If Mobile was Spanish, of course all such grants were good.

CHAPTER XXIII.

CHURCH OF THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION.

1. Church Organization. During Spanish times the province of West Florida like the province of Louisiana was in church matters subject to the Bishop of Santiago in Cuba, but the bishop was so far away that the American provinces were almost independent. One difficulty arose from the mixture of the races and the gradual incoming of Protestant Americans. A bishop had to issue letters calling for the better observance of Sunday and others relating to other duties. There were some thirteen pastors at Mobile, and their records are still preserved in the Cathedral. The name of the church was changed from that in French times, when it had been Notre Dame of Mobile. Under the Spaniards it was known as the Church of the Immaculate Conception, and the street on which the church stood was named Conception from it. At first the old French building a block south of modern Christ Church was used and the same cemetery, called sometimes Campo Santo, was used. There Grimarest when commandant erected a handsome brick vault as a family tomb. Later Louisiana and Florida were combined into one diocese, and separated from Cuba, in order to improve the religion of the people. The first bishop was Penalver, and he sometimes visited Mobile. After the cession of Louisiana to France in 1800 another bishop was appointed, and when Louisiana became American it again became a part of the see of Havana. The church registers show the same care as to marriages and deaths as under the French, and from now on there is more and more mention of free negroes, some of whom themselves owned negro slaves.


35°
33°
31°
29°
SOUTH CAROLINA
GEORGIA
Augusta
Charleston
Savannah
EAST DIVISION
CHOCTAW
LOWER CREEKS
UPPER CREEKS
Natchez
Mobile
St Mark
St Augustine
New Orleans
ATLANTIC OCEAN
The Country in Spanish Times
MEXICO
GULF OF

2. The Church Building. The church, however, was even then in a ruinous state and during the time of the Irish priest McKenna it was rebuilt, and the parsonage placed next to it at the northwest corner of Conti and Royal Streets. The Spanish King, by agreement with the Pope, was entitled to the tithes and agreed to build all necessary churches. This land, consisting of two lots, was bought by the King for two hundred dollars in 1792, and the building which was put up on it outlasted the Spanish rule. It was of brick, with the side on Royal Street, and the high altar opposite the entrance. The commandants and other officials worshipped there in state.

The parsonage had a house, outbuildings and fruit trees, but there was not space for a garden and stock, and in order to have room for a garden one *padre* got a new place in the Orange Grove. The old building was sold for eight hundred and five dollars to Eslava. The church afterwards contested the sale, but Eslava held the property.

3. The Cemetery. When the church was moved the cemetery was moved also. A space four hundred by three hundred feet was selected for that purpose at the intersection of Dauphin and what is now called Franklin Streets, but it was then out in the woods. The Cathedral stands on the western part, but the property extended further east on Dauphin and south beyond Conti. On it are now found stores, the asylum and other property of the church. Conti Street did not originally run through it and when this was done many years later graves were discovered beneath the surface. In this graveyard were buried some of the priests themselves and many of the officials and colonists of the little Spanish city.

4. The Padres. Catholic priests in any country are of one of two classes. The first secular, that is, belonging

to the clergy who live among the people and are subject to bishops. The other class belong to some of the orders of the monks, in which case they are known as regular clergy, subject to their own officials. Those of Mobile in Spanish times were all of some monastic order, but were under the direction of the local bishop. The first priest was Fray Salvador, a parish priest of the Mercedarian order, but he was shortly succeeded by Fray Carlos, who was a Capuchin. He soon died and was buried here . The next was Fray Francisco, a Dominican, who like Carlos was both priest (*cura*) of the town and chaplain (*capellan*) of the fort.

A French *abbe* acted for a while, but then came Eon, who had the largest library of which we read, but confined to sermons, breviaries, prayers, and other religious works. We learn that the good priest had of course the wine and oil necessary for the church, and also knives, forks, spoons, plates, glass, razors, a parasol and a good deal of clothing and bedding, besides tobacco and furniture. The salary seems to have been thirty-five piastres a month, and the allowance for bread, wine and lights. At his death his effects were sold and the articles were bought by many different persons.

There were a good many English-speaking Americans and from the Spanish college at Salamanca were sent over a number of Irish priests to convert them. Among them were Lamport and McKenna, both of whom came to Mobile and died here. McKenna is the best known of them all and his flowing English hand is the most legible in the records.

5. The Records. The Spanish priests kept records in the same manner as the French and amongst others a negro registry, which comes down later than the others. There was if anything less municipal life shown at Mobile under the Spanish than under the French, although the

records have great variety of terms for the place. Sometimes it is spoken of as *Plaza de La Mobila* and then again as *Villa*, and one priest uses *Ciudad* (city), the same word which is applied to the City of Mexico. The church records throw light on civil life in Spanish times just as they did in the French, for the titles and business of parties are given, and sometimes of witnesses. The language is always Spanish, although people were largely French, and there had to be an official French interpreter.

CHAPTER XXIV.

INDUSTRIES OF THE COLONISTS.

1. The Houses. Mobile did not improve in appearance under the Spaniards, for the place was smaller and less money was spent on buildings. The usual house was of wooden frame, filled in with clay or moss, and with a roof of bark or tiles. The side was turned toward the street as in French times, and in fact there was no change in the old style of building except in the greater use of clay. This made what is called an *adobe* house. There was sometimes a brick cellar, but Mobile was so near the level of the river that cellars have always been rare. Oftener the house was raised and a long flight of steps ran up from the street. Sometimes the house was ceiled and frequently it had a gallery all around instead of the projecting roof of Canadian style, but it seldom had a hall through the centre. The kitchen was generally a separate building, but might be sometimes a lean-to, and behind was a garden, where flowers were grown as well as vegetables. The whole place was surrounded by a picket fence.

2. Traders. The shops were not very different and often were but the front rooms of the little homes. Stocks of goods were not large, but they sometimes showed great variety. This was particularly so of the traders with the Indians. We have the papers of one whose goods were seized for debt, and these consisted of deer skins, bear oil, linen, tobacco, pepper, plates and wine, and we find again in other estates soap, blankets, fishing line and powder. Such legal sales were begun by a drum, instead of the bell which was usual under the English. In one such case on a plantation across the Bay were sold clothing, boiler and mill, and cows, besides vinegar, salt and

seine. Another trader was killed and his stock of goods embraced silk, linen, table-cloths, napkins, thread, gloves, delft ware, scales, weights, spurs, tin spoons, plates and a writing desk. The widow of this merchant came all the way from South Carolina to reclaim her husband's property, for by Spanish law the wife inherited the property

REGI MIENTO
DE INFAN TERÍA
FIXO DE LA LUISIANA.
D. FRANCISCO BOULIGNY,
CORONEL DEL REFERIDO REGIMIENTO.
POR la presente concedo licencia á Antonio Torrens
de la Tercera Compañia del Tercer Batallon, respecto

SPANISH PASSPORT

of the husband and the husband inherited the property of the wife.

3. Indigo. The people always had vegetables from their little gardens, but there was not in Spanish times any staple produce. For a while some attention was paid to indigo, which grew wild. The leaves of this plant were gathered, steeped in hot water, and the sediment was

packed in cakes for use. The crop was unreliable, however, because liable to be injured by high water, which was often experienced in spring on the Mobile delta.

4. Cotton. Cotton was raised in some quantity and used for domestic purposes, but the difficulty of separating the lint from the seed prevented it from being important at this time. The separation of the seed was done by the negroes by hand and it was slow work. A primitive form of loom was in use on the coast, consisting of an upright frame, from which hung the thread of the warp, through which the shuttle was thrown by hand. In this way cotton cloth was produced for home use. There would have to be some better plan devised for getting the seed out of the cotton, however, before it could become a great industry. The plant was raised even on the Bay shore lands.

5. Lumber and Brick. Saw mills had been common from the earliest times and the saw was used in an upright frame, working up and down. Saw Mill Creek marks a famous old mill site. Eslava had one southwest of the town and the Kennedys and Byrnes had saw mills on Tensaw River. There were many good mill sites on the creeks emptying into the Mobile waters and the Spanish utilized a number of them, shipping the lumber by river or Bay over to the city. Brickyards were also numerous, for the clay found in this vicinity is of a high grade. There were several near Fly Creek on the Eastern Shore, and Espejo had a brickyard near Choctaw Point.

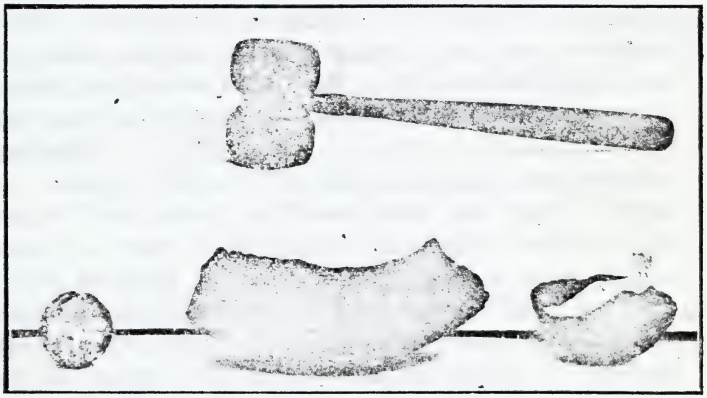
6. Vaqueria. A business which was almost new now came into prominence. Cattle raising had been unknown to the Indians, but not uncommon among the French and English. Now the Spaniards devoted a good deal of attention to it and had pens in different parts of the country. Their name for it was *Vaqueria*, translated into English as Cow-pen, and large herds were kept. The

remains of a Cow-pen, with a mound all around to keep in the cattle, can be seen at Parker's on the west side of Mobile Bay. The many swamps of the country afforded good pasture even in the winter and made the business profitable.

7. *Business.* There were artisans about the town, such as blacksmiths, carpenters and butchers, and those connected with the army were of some prominence. Espejo was the royal baker and conducted the Royal Bakery at the southeast corner of Conti and St. Emanuel, where the same business had been carried on under the English and French. There were doctors but no lawyers except the prosecuting attorney. The earliest French hospital had been at the southeast corner of Dauphin and Conception, but in British times it had been high up on Royal Street. Under the Spaniards also it was a public institution and was located opposite its original French site. The low *adobe* building and the trees and flowers surrounding it took up perhaps a quarter of the present Bienville Square, and it had its official surgeon and attendants.

8. *John Forbes & Co.* Ever since Bienville made Mobile the headquarters for the Indian department it was the place from which the colonial government, whether French, English or Spanish, controlled the trade with the natives. Each of these governments made annual presents to the different tribes to keep them in good humor, and this was necessary, because the Indians never rose much above their original hunting and fishing stage. For their bow and arrow they merely substituted gun and ammunition, which they could not make, and instead of skin clothing they had shirts and leggings of cotton, which also were made in Europe. Not only did they call for kettles, knives, beads and looking-glasses, but at an early day they formed a strong taste for liquor. They acquired the vices rather

than the virtues of civilization, but it all led to a large Indian trade. The leading house in this trade under the British was Swanson and McGillivray, who were connected with the other British house of Mather and Strothers, which lasted into Spanish times. The principal firm in this business after a while was Turnbull and Joyce, and Joyce seems to have done a large business of different kinds. Another Briton, however, soon founded a house which was famous far and wide and took the place of all others. This was William Panton, a Scotchman like so



SPANISH RELICS, ETC.

many of the traders, and his firm of Panton, Leslie & Co. had branches in Cuba, the Bahamas, Pensacola, Mobile and elsewhere. They sent caravans of traders amongst the Indians, made advances, and in return received skins and other goods, and they were for many purposes the agents of the Spanish government. Their activity among the Indians lasted long after the Ellicott Line had put the Creeks and Choctaws within the American limits, and they received from the Indians large tracts of land in settle-

ment of debts. The name of the house was later changed to John Forbes & Co. Forbes himself staid in Cuba, and the business in Mobile was managed by his agent James Innerarity, for many years one of the leading men at Mobile. While they did not obtain any land from the Indians immediately about the city, Forbes & Co. did get grants of the Orange Grove and Choctaw Point Tracts from the Spanish government, besides much of the river front just north of the fort, and also city lots. Their headquarters were on Royal Street where St. Francis Street now crosses and their main buildings took up the Custom House site and much of the block next north, while their skin houses and wagon yards were scattered over the land to the west. All in all John Forbes & Company were the principal business men of Mobile under the Spaniards.

9. Money. The silver of Mexico at this time furnished much of the money of Europe and the United States. During the wars of Napoleon's day Spain could do little for her province of West Florida, and a paper money circulated here which was at a discount of forty per cent. below "hard money." Some old money is often mentioned, such as piastres and pesos, but the dollar is generally named together with the ryal or bit, and the little silver piece called the *picaillon* or picayune. These terms were as much used above the line as in Florida, and bits and picayunes have always remained Mobile words.

10. Population. Affairs were too troubled in Europe for Spain to exercise much control in Florida, and the Spanish officials had not the same energy that Bienville had shown under similar circumstances. There was more formality but less real work by the officers. Before Ellicott's Line was run it is said that there were not over eight hundred men in the whole province, and of these less than

one hundred were Spaniards. This would mean a total population in West Florida of about four thousand people. While running the Line injured West Florida by narrowing it in some places to a strip of sand forty odd miles wide, it increased the population by adding all who withdrew from Fort St. Stephen and other points above the Line. We are told that the population of Mobile itself in 1803 was eight hundred and ten people. From about this time on, however, the number in all West Florida increased, for the Louisiana Cession attracted many Americans to the South West, and not a few came into West Florida to settle. The authorities began to fear this increase of Americans, and in 1805 an order was issued forbidding grants except to Spanish subjects. After this Americans could acquire land only by becoming Spaniards.

CHAPTER XXV.

MISSISSIPPI TERRITORY AND ITS NEIGHBORS.

1. Organization. While the Spanish residents on the Gulf were living quietly and contentedly on what the soil and waters produced, there was a very different scene in the southwest part of the new country called the United States. Kentucky and Tennessee had been the first settlements made by the Americans west of the Allegheny Mountains, and, not only did these people open a trade down the Mississippi River with New Orleans, but they began to settle on the river or seek new homes in the country nearby. So many did they become that in 1798 the United States created what is called the Mississippi Territory, with its capital at Natchez. It extended from the Mississippi River to the Chattahoochee and its north line was finally moved up to join Tennessee. Its south boundary was of course the Ellicott Line, which was run because of this increase of population. Not only did Western people come down the Mississippi, but others from Carolina, Virginia and Tennessee passed into the Tennessee Valley and across the mountain country until they reached the Tombigbee. Some also came cross-country from Georgia to the Alabama River, and from both directions immigrants journeyed down to what was now called St. Stephens. The American government felt it necessary to build Fort Stoddert near the Line, at the place which we now call Mt. Vernon Landing. The old British residents on the Tombigbee and Tensaw began to find themselves outnumbered by newcomers from the American states.

This was a kind of colonization, but different from that which we have been studying. The old colony was made

up of people sent out by a European government to hold a district for the home country, and only incidentally to grow and have interests of its own. Now, however, the government had nothing to do with these colonists who came out from the American states to seek their fortunes in the West. What was done was done by the people themselves. The governemnt did not place them on the lands and really found it difficult to keep up with them. It built forts and organized governments only when the need was pressing. The movement was more of an expansion of the American people than a colonization.

2. The Washington District. The American system provided for subdivisions called counties and in 1800 Washington county was created, extending from the Pearl River to the Chattahoochee. The Americans made a treaty with the Indians at Fort Confederation (the old French Fort Tombecbé) confirming the Tombigbee grant to the British, for the Spanish, like the French, deemed the whole country theirs and had not wanted any cessions of land from the Indians. The seat of the new county was first at Wakefield, but St. Stephens and Fort Stoddert were the large towns. The country was becoming in all respects American, except that Spanish money was used, and one of the new things was the visit of Protestant preachers. Protestantism was already flourishing in the Natchez country and now there came to what was called the Tensaw and Washington districts a good but eccentric Methodist preacher named Lorenzo Dow. He came only on visits and there was no regular pastor for a number of years.

3. The American Log Cabin. One of the new things brought to the country was the log cabin, with a hall through the centre and rooms on each side, and it was entirely different from the Spanish house. The old Latin

house had its side to the street but the roof was high pitched and the projection at the front covered the raised gallery floor. The American log cabin also had its long side to the road, and adopted the covered gallery in front of the hall; but the roof pitch was low and the gallery was really a separate thing from the house. The hall was brought by the Americans from the Atlantic, and even the gallery which was adopted from the French somewhat differed from what it had been. The front gallery was the social centre of the house. The furniture was less attractive than that below the Line, for it was not imported, but merely rough benches, beds made of straw or shucks, and the floors of puncheon or split logs. The clothing was homespun, and table ware very simple. All this was made up for, however, by the fact that the people who used them were active and progressive. They had come so far only by using every knack and talent, and their primitive settlements were to advance rapidly for the same reasons. Their hardships developed character.

4. Fort Stoddert. Fort Stoddert on Mobile River near the Line was more than a mere frontier post, because there lived the agents of the American government, and these not only looked after the settlers, but dealt with the Indians on the one side and the Spaniards on the other. The agent was for a long time Lieutenant E. P. Gaines, whose name was distinguished in the South West. Fort Stoddert was made the American port of entry, where a collector received the duties on cargoes brought from abroad. While Fort Stoddert was not the seat of civil government, the first judge in this part of the country, Ephraim Kirby, held court and is buried there.

5. Harry Toulmin. The distance of the Washington District from Natchez made it necessary for the local officers to have special powers. A judge, therefore, not

only lived there, but his court attended to Federal as well as local matters. Court like other public business was carried on at the county seat. Under the Americans civil and military affairs are entirely distinguished, and the county seat was not at Fort Stoddert. First it was at McIntosh Bluff, near the junction of the Alabama and Tombigbee Rivers, but afterwards somewhat inland at Wakefield and later at Washington Court House. It was finally located at St. Stephens, which became an incorporated town from 1807. The judge who succeeded Kirby was Harry Toulmin, an English clergyman who had lived in Tennessee until President Jefferson appointed him judge

PIONEER RELICS

of the Washington District. He was an active man and of great influence. The first law books were made up at Natchez, but Toulmin compiled a larger and much better book, which remained in use a long time.

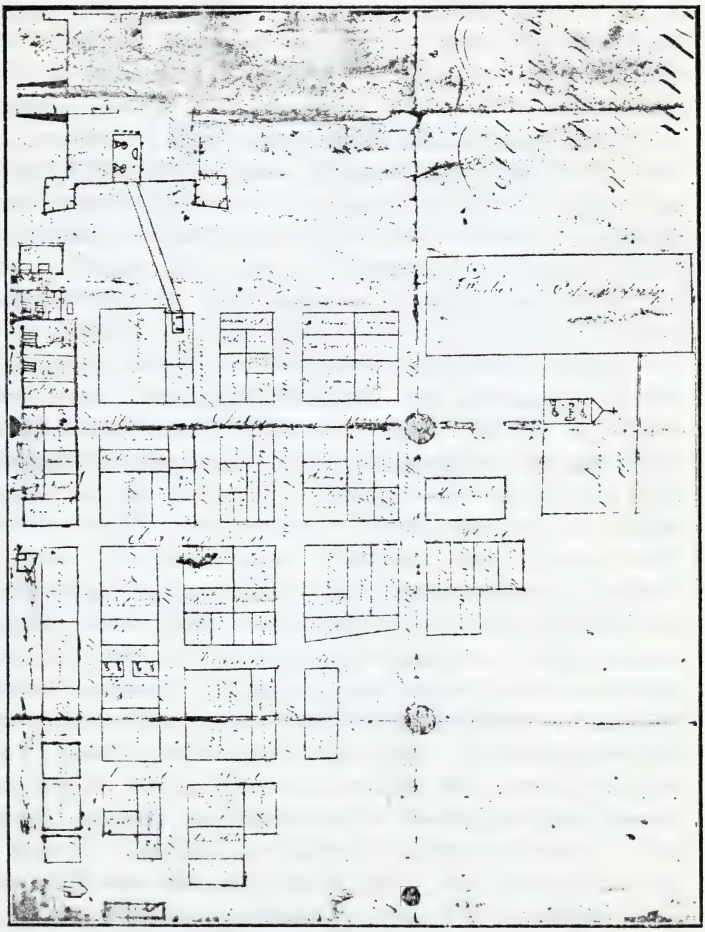
6. Aaron Burr. Although Mississippi Territory was far away from the settled parts of America, it was making history in several ways. Its relations to the Spaniards were important, and in the year 1807 it was visited by the celebrated Aaron Burr on his expedition to the South West. Burr was a distinguished citizen of New York and had been vice-president of the United States. What was his present

plan has never quite been settled, but it seems to have been to attack and conquer Mexico somewhat as Cortez had done. President Jefferson, however, was hostile to him and caused his expedition to be broken up at Natchez and Burr arrested. He was a great favorite wherever he went and had no difficulty in getting away when he was tried. He escaped through the woods and reached the Washington District. His object was to get to Mobile or Pensacola and from there he could either escape or carry out his plans, but in the Washington District he was recognized as he made an inquiry at the court house, and Captain Gaines was notified. Gaines with some soldiers met Burr on a rise of the public road near McIntosh Bluff and Burr surrendered, for resistance was useless. He was conducted to Fort Stoddert and remained there until the president sent word what to do with him. Burr was an able man, about whom has gathered a great deal of romance. It was difficult to handle him, for he seemed to fascinate everyone. According to orders from Washington he was finally rowed across the river to Tensaw Boat Yard and then carried by a detachment on horseback through the Indian country to Richmond for trial. There he was finally acquitted, but he was never able to take up again his Mexican plans. He always declared that he had no designs against Louisiana or any American territory, and seems to have been the first of the men who tried to seize different Spanish possessions, either for themselves or to annex them to the United States.

7. *The Kemper Raid.* An instance of this kind came to a head very soon. The South West was pioneer and the manners and methods of many of the people were rough. Thus two men named Kemper living in Mississippi Territory suffered some grievances from the Spanish officials and were active in raids across the line. The people of

the Washington country were anxious to have Mobile made a part of the United States, for then the country would have an outlet to the Gulf of Mexico. They were urging the American government to seize Mobile, but, as the government would not do it, they were anxious to take the place by force. Accordingly Kemper organized the expedition which went down into the Tensaw District and thence across to Saw Mill Creek above Mobile. Cyrus Sibley and a number of others joined it, but it was not well conducted. The Spanish commandant at Mobile learned of it and sent soldiers up, who captured the raiders and brought them to Mobile. After being a while in the prison at Fort Charlotte, some of them, including Sibley, were sent to Morro Castle at Havana.

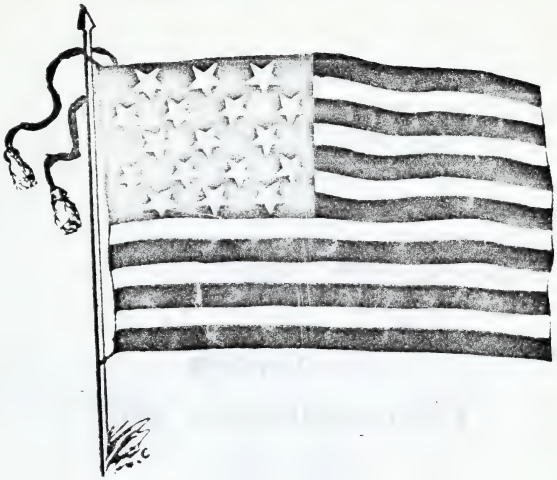
8. The State of West Florida. While Burr's plans miscarried, the movement on which he had embarked soon bore fruit. So many Americans had moved into the South West and passed below the Line, that West Florida gradually became more American than Spanish. The Spaniards never increased in number on account of the troubles in Europe, while the Americans were always coming in. The result was that Americans began a revolution at Baton Rouge in 1810 and an independent state called West Florida was organized, which was intended to take in Mobile; but its soldiers never got so far east, for Governor Claiborne of Louisiana put an end to the new state by annexing its actual territory to Louisiana. The Americans did not attempt to annex Mobile, however. On the contrary, American troops were sent down from Fort Stoddert to protect Mobile from the West Florida revolutionists, and they encamped north of the town in the Orange Grove. They remained all winter, and when the danger was over they were taken back up the river. Fort Stoddert being immediately on the water was not quite healthy, and so



SPANISH MOBILE

the troops about this time built a post further inland, which was named Mt. Vernon, after Washington's home.

9. General Wilkinson at Mobile. After the Americans took possession of Louisiana by raising the flag at New Orleans, troops had remained there. The commander at the time of Burr's expedition was General Wilkinson, originally a trader from Kentucky. It has been more than suspected that he was a partner in Burr's plans, but he became the chief agent of President Jefferson in opposing Burr. During the wars of Napoleon in Europe, Spain was disputed by the French and English, and when the War of 1812 broke out between Great Britain and United States the Spanish ports were used by English as if they were their own. President Madison took advantage of this situation to direct Wilkinson at New Orleans to capture Mobile, and the result was an expedition by sea which landed on the Bay shore, while troops came from Fort Stoddert with brass cannon. There were but few soldiers in Fort Charlotte, while Wilkinson was supplied with everything that could be asked, and so when he made a demand upon Perez for surrender there was nothing else that the Spanish commander could do. He protested against invasion by a nation with whom his own country was at peace, but to save the shedding of blood surrendered the fort and town on April 13th, 1813. Wilkinson sent the garrison by sea to Pensacola, which was beyond the disputed boundary, and reported to Washington the capture of Mobile "without the effusion of a drop of blood." The United States had now made good their claim that the Louisiana Purchase extended to the Perdido River, and Mobile had at last become American.



UNITED STATES FLAG

(Early Nineteenth Century)

PERIOD VI.
THE AMERICAN CITY
1813-1861

AUTHORITIES.

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CHAPTER XXVI.

TOWN BUILDING.

1. The Local Government. The stars and stripes floating over Fort Charlotte would bring self-government, but the people of Mobile were so used to having both civil and military affairs carried on by one official that there was no difficulty enforcing military law for the time being. For almost a year, the commander of the fort directed everything. There were now many Americans in the place. Some moved down from St. Stephens and from Fort Stoddert. The Mobile Centinel had already been started at Fort Stoddert and the Gazette was now begun at Mobile. Perhaps even more important was the coming of lawyers and justices of the peace. The territorial legislature had in 1812 established Mobile County, extending to the Perdido River, bounded west by Jackson County, which went to Pearl River. On January 20, 1814, an act was passed providing for the incorporation of Mobile and under this a meeting of citizens was had and an election arranged for. Seven commissioners were elected, some of them Americans and others of old Spanish stock, and, when they had been sworn into office by Josiah Blakely as justice of the peace, they took charge of the town affairs. The boundaries had been indefinite under the Spaniards, but now extended from Choctaw Point to a ford over Bayou Chateaugay (as it was spelled), and this has been substantially the boundary ever since. The Spaniards had had no taxes, as all expenses were paid from Spain but with the Americans came licenses and taxes on land and slaves, and Mobile was fully launched as an American town. Different ordinances were passed to provide fos good order, a market house was built at the foot of Dauphin

Street and this was to play a great part in fixing the shore line of the town; for gradually the shore was reclaimed north and south from this point. Of the same nature was the building of a town wharf nearby, for this marked the beginning of a new system. The old wharf in front of the fort was owned by the government and used only for public purposes, and the shipping of the merchants of the town was now carried over the new wharf.

2. Josiah Blakely. These matters looking to the use of the water front show why the Americans had coveted Mobile, but Mobile was not the only port which was planned. St. Stephens itself was a port, and, if the Alabama-Tombigbee Basin should become a great agricultural district, there would be room for other ports as well. The situation was different from what it had been at any time in Mobile's history. The former governors had kept commerce under the guns of Fort Charlotte, but this was no longer to be the case. Fort Charlotte was important as against the Spaniards of Florida, but the American plan was to leave commerce to develop for itself such cities as were found necessary. For this reason the shrewd Josiah Blakely thought it possible to build another port, and so even before Mobile was incorporated he had a surveyor lay out a town bearing his name on the east bank of the Tensaw River. The streets there were named after prominent Americans, such as Washington, and alleys for trees, such as Live Oak. The town was incorporated two weeks before Mobile, and an elaborate plat put on record. Several hundred lots were sold, a hotel built, and the place became so thriving that it was uncertain for a time whether it would not surpass Mobile.

3. Families from St. Stephens. A good deal of attention was now directed to the South West and many people came from the older states. Some well known families

came from St. Stephens, and it is said that more than one house was dismantled there and brought down the river and rebuilt in Mobile. The first element of the Mobile population we know had been French, to whom were later added some British like McCurtin, and then came Spaniards like Eslava, together with the Kennedys and Murrells, who had become Spanish. Now were added the Americans and of them the people from St. Stephens were among the most energetic citizens that Mobile has ever had. The movement lasted a long time, and St. Stephens played here the part that Huntsville did in North Alabama.

4. The Land Question. It is impossible for any community to flourish without good titles to land. No one will improve his property and no one can do much business if he does not know that his property is secure. For this reason the first thing which each government has regulated in Mobile has been the ownership of land. So it had been under the French, British and Spanish, and now the United States took up the task. The city lots had been occupied time out of mind and gave no trouble, but the grants which the Spaniards had made after the cession of Louisiana to France were not only disputed by the American government, but incoming Americans sought to obtain new grants to the same land. This created much confusion. The United States tried to settle these questions by an act of Congress of 1812, under which commissioners were appointed to report on the old titles. Lists were made of all claims, and, where there was no question, titles were declared good, or "confirmed" as it was called, to the occupants. Disputed claims were further looked into and from time to time declared good or bad. The investigation lasted many years before everything was settled.

5. Indian Cessions. There was another class of questions which were settled in a different way. Treaties by

which lands were ceded to the United States were made with all four Indian tribes of whom we have learned. The treaty of Fort Confederation in 1802 with the Choctaws confirmed the old British boundary and another treaty next year at St. Stephens ceded all the Choctaws owned between the Alabama and Tombigbee Rivers. The Choctaw ownership had been pushed westward by the Creeks and at this time was west of what is still called the Indian Boundary Line, running on the watershed between the two rivers. There was no cession from the Creek Indians for years to come and indeed nothing more from the Choctaws except that in 1805 they deeded a wide strip extending from Natchez to St. Stephens.

6. Public Lands. We have seen that both Spain and France made government grants, and that the British also granted out large tracts to applicants. The American plan was that of small grants to individuals. A regular system of selling public lands had been adopted before Mississippi Territory had been formed, and was now applied in the South West. As the territory was ceded, the land was surveyed into townships six miles square, numbered in a certain order, and these townships were divided into sections of a square mile each. Land offices for sale of lands to applicants were set up at convenient places. From 1803 St. Stephens was the principal office for this part of the country, and the starting point for surveys was the old Ellicott Stone on the line of 31 degrees. In this way there was no overlapping. The first plan of selling was on credit, and this brought many settlers and led to the rapid building up of the country trading with Mobile. This in turn built up the town also.

CHAPTER XXVII.

FROM FORT MIMS TO FORT BOWYER.

1. The Creek Indians. We have seen how the boundary between the Choctaws and the Muscogees was formerly in the neighborhood of Cahaba River and how after the expedition of De Soto it retreated to the west and finally was the watershed between the Alabama and the Tombigbee Rivers. The Choctaw cessions gave the Americans all territory west of the watershed, and it was soon occupied almost as fully as beyond the Tombigbee. Clarke County was created in 1812 and in theory extended from the Tombigbee eastwardly to Georgia, but for purposes of settlement was limited by this Indian Boundary Line. The only treaty with the Creeks was one in 1805, giving the United States the right to open a path from Georgia southwest to the Tensaw River. East of the Tensaw and of Mobile Bay there were now many settlers; but the Creeks questioned the titles, for they had never ceded anything except the bare shore of the river and Bay to the British. The threatening state of affairs between Great Britain and the United States caused great uneasiness among the Indians of the North West and a visit from their leader, Tecumseh, to the South affected the Indians here also. About this time the path through the Creek nation was widened to a road from Georgia to the Tensaw, as was that through the last Choctaw cession over to Natchez. The whole was known as the Federal Road and was the way by which people came to the South West. A famous guide was Sam Dale, and he foresaw danger before the United States Creek agent, Hawkins, did.

2. The War in Clarke. The principal American post outside of Mobile was at Mt. Vernon, and Flournoy,

the general who succeeded Wilkinson, was at Mobile. St. Stephens had grown up south of a ravine near the Spanish fort and the town was protected by a Fort called Republic. As the prospect of war with the Indians increased, neighborhood forts were built all through the country, generally mere stockades about some planter's house, but, if built on a hill and containing a spring, they gave protection against the Indians. In Clarke County there was a string of such posts from the Tombigbee and across the Alabama to Fort Mims at Tensaw, which was itself only one of several forts. In this chain near the Tombigbee was Fort Madison and about midway was Fort Sinquefield. Every few days some disturbance occurred along the Indian frontier. A Mrs. Crawley was taken to the Creek post at Tuscaloosa, families were murdered in the country, and Fort Sinquefield was attacked but successfully defended.

3. Fort Mims. One of the features of an American Territory was that the men were organized into militia, and they were as active as the regular army. As the Indians were supposed to get ammunition from the English at Pensacola, some militia lay in wait for the return of a party at Burnt Corn, near the Escambia River. A battle followed which would have been a success for the whites but for their scattering for booty. Then the Indians returned and the whites were driven from the field. This was more than a defeat, for it encouraged the savages, and fear spread over the whole frontier. Settlers took refuge with their families in the nearest fort. The best known on the Alabama River was Fort Mims, surrounding the residence of an old Indian trader named Samuel Mims, and about five hundred people, including two companies of soldiers, were quartered within it. The commander was Major Beasley, who did not think the Indians would venture to

attack his command. There was so much passing in and out that it was inconvenient to shut the gate, and rain and travel soon banked the sand against it. A negro brought word on the thirtieth of August that the Indians were coming, but there had been so many false reports that Beasley had him strung up to be whipped. At the noon hour for dinner, however, the guard at the gate saw them coming indeed, a thousand men under McQueen and Weatherford; and before the gate could be closed or troops formed, they were in the fort, killing men, women and children, with muskets and tomahawks. Beasley died fighting bravely, and defense was attempted by a half-breed Indian named Dixon Bailey, but he also was killed with hundreds of others. Hardly two dozen people escaped from the slaughter house. Two of them were a woman and child who were sheltered by an Indian whom they once befriended. The few fugitives made their way to nearby settlements and over to Mt. Vernon, and gave the sad news. A relief expedition promptly came, but only found homes burned and hundreds of corpses, and all they could do was to bury the dead.

4. Pushmataha. Some of the Creeks had remained friendly, such as Bailey, Manac, who had a ferry on the Alabama, and David Tait, who lived at the bend called for him, Tait's Shoals. They were prosperous men, and, besides their white blood and sympathies, knew that the triumph of the Indians meant a return to barbarism. The leader of the Creeks was Weatherford, called by them the Red Eagle, who, like so many other chiefs, had white blood in his veins. He had tried to restrain his countrymen, but when they resolved upon war he went with them and proved an active leader. Tecumseh's influence had been less strong among the Choctaws, mainly from the influence of one man. The chief of the East Division of

the Choctaws at this time was Pushmataha. He was proud to be of the tribe which had never slain a white man and went with George S. Gaines to Mobile to offer his services to Flournoy. That general at first repulsed him, but afterwards sent a messenger to recall him, and Pushmataha organized his Choctaws to aid the whites in the war which was now on.

5. The Canoe Fight. The news of Fort Mims roused the whole South West, and troops were soon marching from Tennessee, Georgia, and Natchez upon the heart of the Creek country. Indian hostilities had begun all along the frontier, but the whites soon made the Alabama River the seat of war, although both its banks from near Fort Mims north east were in the Creek territory. On November 20 a scouting party from Clarke County crossed near Randon's Creek and saw a large canoe full of Indians descending the river. Three whites, Jeremiah Austill, Sam Dale and James Smith, besides a negro rower, pushed out to attack them. Muskets were fired until the two boats got to close quarters, when the whites and Indians grappled with each other hand to hand. Perhaps the fewness of the whites gave them more room to act, and at all events they soon killed or knocked down all the Indians and threw them into

PUSHMATAHA

the river. It was one of the most desperate events in frontier annals and was worthy of Greek history. It was only an episode, but, like McKee's burning the Creek village of Tuscaloosa, it showed the spirit with which the whites were going into the war. It was indeed a struggle for existence on both sides.

6. General Claiborne. Almost all the regular troops of the United States were engaged with the British along the Canadian frontier and the war in the South West was waged by militia and volunteers. Claiborne commanded the territorial troops, and was instructed to confine himself to the defense of Mobile, and he understood this to mean to go into the enemy's country. The name Creek was applied to the whole confederacy, but the places down the river towards Mobile were Alibamon. The chief point in this direction was Econachaca, the Holy Ground, where the Indians collected supplies and plunder, and which was supposed to be protected by spirits. This, therefore, was the object of Claiborne's campaign, and he marched across to Weatherford's Bluff, where he built a fort which has given the name to Claiborne. In December, just before Christmas, he advanced and stormed the Holy Ground, where he killed many Indians and drove the others into the river. Weatherford was there, but he leaped his gray horse, Arrow, over the bluff and escaped. The town was burned and the captured supplies were used for the army and the Choctaws, but unfortunately Claiborne's men had volunteered for short terms and he was unable to advance any further into the Creek country. It had, however, been invaded also from the east by General Floyd with Georgians, but after one battle they had to retire from lack of provisions. The brunt of war was left to an army from Tennessee, whose leader became one of America's famous men.

7. Andrew Jackson. Tennessee has been called the Volunteer State because its people, who so largely settled Alabama, fought Indian wars for themselves without waiting for the regular army. And so it was now. George S. Gaines, the Indian agent on the Tombigbee, had sent the news of Fort Mims to Governor Blount of Tennessee, who directed General Andrew Jackson to call out the militia. Jackson was confined to his house from a wound received in a duel, but lost no time. He had assistants in John Coffee and others, and started troops on the way to Huntsville. Supplies were not prompt and Jackson moved without them. He crossed over to the Coosa Valley and went down the stream, somewhat over De Soto's route, into the heart of the Creek country. The Tennesseans knew how to find the Indians as well as fight them, and one victory followed another. Jackson met with one repulse at Emuckfau, but on March 27, 1814, attacked the Creeks at Horseshoe Bend on the Tallapoosa River. It was a wild spot, fit for the last stand of the Indians, and, while Jackson attacked in front, Coffee and the Cherokees guarded the river behind. Both sides realized the importance of the battle and it was long and desperately contested; but at last of the twelve hundred Creeks hardly two hundred were left alive, and these escaped to the forest. Few Americans were lost, but one of them was Major Montgomery, for whom a county was to be named. No successful resistance was made after this, and Jackson soon took up his headquarters at old Fort Toulouse. Its trenches were cleaned out, necessary buildings put up, and its name changed to Fort Jackson. There the war ended, for soon Weatherford came in and surrendered, in an eloquent plea for his people, and Jackson protected him from the fury of the soldiers. Weatherford then returned to his home at Little River.

8. Defence of Fort Bowyer. Jackson sent some of his troops back to Tennessee and with others came down the Alabama River to Mobile, and on the way his aide, Horace Tatum, made the first survey of the river. This stream had always run through Indian territory and even the French had made no detailed map. Jackson visited Fort Claiborne, Mt. Vernon, and other places, and took command at Mobile, which was threatened by a British fleet in the Gulf. Spanish Pensacola was practically a British post, and soon there was a combined sea and land attack at Fort Bowyer, founded on Mobile Point by Wilkinson. It was not a large fort and consisted of a semi-circular battery facing the sea and connected by works with a bastion facing the land. It was only one hundred and eighty feet from one end to the other, and contained one hundred and thirty men under Major Lawrence. There were twenty pieces of small cannon, the largest being a few twenty-four pounder carronades. In the 12th of September four British vessels appeared and two days later the Hermes, coming within the Bay, led the attack, which was answered with spirit. Soon the flag of the Hermes was cut away by a shot and Lawrence stopped firing until it was replaced. The fort flag also fell, but there was no pause in the battle and so it was fixed to a sponge staff and raised again. Then the cable of the Hermes was cut, and, as she drifted under the guns of the fort, the Americans raked her fore and aft, with the result that she went aground, and the crew set her on fire and left her. The other three vessels withdrew and went towards Pensacola. The burning ship lighted up the Bay, and at ten o'clock at night blew up. Jackson, at Mobile, heard the report and was afraid it was the fort, and there was much rejoicing upon learning the facts. Afterwards several of the Hermes' cannon were mounted on Fort Bowyer.

9. Capture of Fort Bowyer. The main attack by the British, however, was to be in another direction and Jackson marched his army over to New Orleans from Mobile. One stop which he made was near Cottage Hill, at a place ever since called the Cantonment. He had issued from Mobile famous proclamations to the people of Louisiana and now was able with his troops to defeat the British. Just below New Orleans Sam Dale witnessed the battle and brought the news on an eight day trip with Paddy, his Georgia pony, over to Mobile and beyond to Milledgeville in the dead of winter. But while the battle of New Orleans meant much, the immediate result to Mobile was bad; for the British fleet transported the army over to Dauphine Island and also occupied Mobile Point behind the fort. The great fleet rode at anchor in the Bay and outside, and, although Fort Bowyer had won on the first attack, there was no hope of a successful resistance now against thirty-eight armed vessels and five thousand men on shore. The British began a siege, advancing trenches, and finally got within forty yards of the fort. The loss of the Americans had been only one killed and ten wounded, and the British forty killed, but it was clear that further fighting would be useless. An attempt to relieve the fort from Mobile failed, and on the 12th of February, 1815, Lawrence surrendered with honors of war. There was much confusion then at Mobile, but the British did not attempt to take the town. Jackson was much mortified at the surrender, but a court-martial afterwards acquitted Lawrence.

10. The Peace of Ghent. The battle was fought after the conclusion of peace, for, although neither army knew of it, a treaty had been signed at Ghent on December 24. Some time was consumed in final arrangements. The British headquarters were at the Shell Banks on Dauphine

Island, where not a few soldiers died as a result of the two battles, and were buried. By the treaty all captured property was to be surrendered by each side, but the British refused to surrender slaves on the ground that the English law did not recognize slavery. They would only agree that slaves could return to their masters if they wished, and a Louisiana planter got his back by telling them in plantation French what awful things the British were going to do to them, and others were no less successful. It was not until March that everything was arranged and Dauphine Island and Fort Bowyer were evacuated.

11. The Six Militia-Men. During this period a sad event occurred at Mobile. Six militia-men had left the American army in the Creek country when they thought their term of enlistment had expired. The officers construed the enlistment differently, and the men when recaptured were condemned to death for desertion. Jackson confirmed the judgment and while the British fleet was still at anchor in the Bay the men were carried in a cart to what is now the northeast corner of the public park on the Bay, where the American army under General Winchester was drawn up. The heads of the militia men were covered with white caps, and, as they stood by their coffins, a detachment of their comrades shot them down in due military form. Only one was not killed outright, and he, covered with blood, crawled forward and sat on his coffin. The other five were buried, and he was removed to a hospital and died in a few days. This severity marred the rejoicing over peace; but at least peace had come, not only with the British, but with the Creeks.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

ALABAMA.

1. *Treaty of Fort Jackson.* Jackson had been sent back to Fort Jackson to make a treaty with the Indians and this he did on August 9, 1814. The war had begun because the Indians were afraid that the Americans would take their lands and ended in a treaty by which the Indians ceded all these lands west of the line running southeast from Fort Jackson. The Creeks had raided as far west as the falls at Tuscaloosa, and in 1816 a treaty was made with the Choctaws also by which all lands east of the Tombigbee were ceded. In this way the most fertile part of Alabama, the Black Belt, was opened to immigration.

2. *The Territory of Alabama.* The principal growth of Mississippi Territory was on the Mississippi River and so the west half of the territory was earlier on the way to statehood. Much discussion had already been had as to dividing the territory, for the senate would not consent to admit the whole as one state. A convention was held on the subject on Pearl River, and finally Congress agreed to admit the part west of the line running from Washington County to where Big Bear Creek empties into the Tennessee. The act was accepted by a convention, and the state was admitted under the name of Mississippi. The remainder of the old territory was made into a new territory called Alabama March 8, 1817, and its capital was fixed at St. Stephens. Of the original counties of the old territory, Alabama received only Mobile, Washington, Clarke and Baldwin, and Monroe County which had been taken from Clarke, and Montgomery was soon taken from Monroe. Besides this there had been old settlements in North Alabama, such as Madison County, from which

other counties were soon created under the new territorial arrangements. The next year saw a number of new counties, such as Tuscaloosa and Dallas. The growth of the country now was from north and south, for the Tennessee Valley had almost one half of the population of Alabama Territory, and Mobile and Washington, the original centres, had no more people than many of the new counties. The centre of the territory also was growing rapidly about Claiborne and the other settlements in Monroe County.

3. St. Stephens as Capital. St. Stephens was the capital as well as the seat of the United States Land Office and of the Tombeckbé Bank, the first bank in the southern part of the territory. The legislature sat in a large frame building, of which only the stone cellar now remains. When it assembled the lower house contained several members, but there was an odd situation when it was found that James Titus of Madison County was the only senator present, and he is said to have "met" sometimes all by himself. He made motions, seconded them, debated them, put the questions to himself and carried them. The legislature continued at St. Stephens for two sessions and passed a great many laws. Some of them related to schools, others to banks and others yet to steamboats, which were just coming into notice.

4. The Vine and Olive Colony. The French had settled the country and were still strong at Mobile, but the incoming population was American. Occasionally a Frenchman came, and after the fall of Napoleon there were a number of Bonapartists. A large company came to Philadelphia and of these some planned to come South, and from them was organized a company to found a colony in the South West. Congress in 1817 granted them four townships of land at two dollars an acre on the understanding that they should introduce and cultivate the vine

and olive. The colonists came the next spring, and, when their vessel went aground in a storm at the mouth of the Bay, they were taken to Fort Bowyer and afterwards to Mobile. Collector Addin Lewis carried them up the river in a revenue cutter, and on the way they visited Judge Toulmin and General Gaines and stopped also at St. Stephens. Their land had not been surveyed, but they selected White Bluff, the old Chickasaw Gallery, on the advice of Gaines, and built cabins and named their settlement Demopolis. Others soon came from Philadelphia, and there was thus a new French colony up on the old Tombecbé. The land was perhaps too fertile, for they had to cut the big canes which grew there before they could plant, and these soldiers were hardly fitted for farmers. From a mistake in their titles, they had to move further out and built Arcola, and again tried planting vines. The soil was not suitable and their form of government was defective. They did not forget their French gaiety, however, and their social life was delightful. Visitors describe occasional balls in empire costumes, and Gaines found a bronze statue of Napoleon treasured in a kind of chapel on the grounds of one of the old generals. There were three hundred in the company, but hardly one hundred actual settlers came with their families. Although this settlement was not successful, it added a new centre of influence to the territory, and by later intermarriages the second French colony was to be influential in our history.

5. The State of Alabama. The central part of Alabama was now being filled rapidly from Georgia and this together with the growth of the Tennessee Valley made the people look forward to statehood. The total population was about one hundred thousand, the whites being double the negroes, and on March 2, 1819, an act of congress was

passed looking to the admission of Alabama. A convention composed of delegates from twenty-two counties met at Huntsville on July 5, and after a session of less than a month adopted a constitution, and the new state was admitted into the Union by an act of congress approved December 8, 1819. The people in the meantime had selected their officials, and William C. Bibb, governor of the territory, became governor of the new state. The capital did not remain at St. Stephens, for the new legislature met at Huntsville for the time being and the location of the permanent capital was fixed at Cahaba, a new town built at the mouth of the Cahaba River, a little below the Holy Ground. The land office had been established there for the sale of the territory acquired from the Creeks by Treaty of Fort Jackson, and there were already a good many people at Cahaba, and the next year it is said to have contained two or three thousand inhabitants. The land for the capital had been given to the state by the United States, and was suitably laid off, the ground for the capital being a large semicircle immediately on the river. A newspaper was established, the Alabama Press, and everything looked promising.

6. The Growth of the Country. The state was becoming a unit in a way which had been lacking heretofore. Indian cessions had opened all of the country to the whites except a small district still belonging to the Choctaws in the west, the large district in Alabama and Georgia inhabited by Creeks, and small portions in the upper corners still belonging to the Chickasaws and Cherokees. The land was being filled by immigrants, and, although the bulk of them were still in the northern division, a state feeling was growing. A new country always feels the lack of money and this was met not only by chartering local banks, but by creating a State Bank, whose branches were placed at

Mobile and other points; and, in addition to this, the United States Bank established branches also. Politically we find in South Alabama no addition to the number of counties, but Baldwin, which had been between Washington and Mobile, now made a complete somersault to the eastern shore. It retained Nanna Hubba Island as the only part of its territory west of the river.

7. *Clausel and Lakanal.* All the French did not go up to Marengo County. Bertrand, Comte Clausel, was one of the favorite officers of Napoleon, and he like many others found safety in flight upon the final restoration of the Bourbons to the French throne. He came to Mobile, bought a home on the west side of the Bay in the Mandeville tract, and lived there a quiet life. He had saved little from the wreck of his fortunes and raised fruits and vegetables, some of which he sold in the Mobile market for the support of his family. Near him lived another Frenchman of a very different character, Lakanal, one of the old republicans who had never been reconciled to Napoleon. But he was even less liked by the Bourbons, for he had been a member of the convention which put Louis XVI to death. Under the republic he had founded an academy and fostered education in France, and when Napoleon fell he moved to Louisiana and was a distinguished educator there also. He finally came to Mobile and he too made his living by raising vegetables. These two Frenchmen, so alike in fate, are said to have been so opposed in politics that they did not speak. Nevertheless, they respected each other, and, when Clausel was pardoned in 1820 and returned to France, he left a power of attorney to Lakanal to wind up his affairs in America. Lakanal himself returned to France at a later date. Dr. Chieusse was another prominent Frenchman, and he also lived on the Mandeville tract.

8. The Charter of 1819. Fort Charlotte had been the centre of Mobile's life, but now that Florida had become American by purchase the fort was not needed. The town had grown all around it, and there was a desire that it be pulled down, which was finally ordered by an act of Congress in 1818. Streets were planned through the old esplanade, and, when the sale took place, the land was purchased by the Mobile Lot Company and resold to individuals. Under no previous government had there been a charter for Mobile. The words town and city had been used without distinction, but there never was government by a body of delegates from the different trades, as in the cities of France, or by mayor and alderman

WATER FRONT IN 1823

elected by property owners, as in England. The Americans adopted the Spanish title intendant for the chief officer of a town, but this was not done in Mobile, where the town commissioners had a president; for Mobile really had the powers and dignity of a city. On December 17, 1819, the State of Alabama passed an act which incorporated Mobile under the name of the Mayor and Aldermen of the City of Mobile. The charter defined the limits and gave extensive powers, including the regulation of the harbor. There was difficulty in running the limits of the old streets, for the Spaniards had not been particular about this, and old grants not only overlapped each other but overlapped the streets also. The matter was only gradually adjusted,

and a great step was taken when the state by an act of 1820 declared that the north line of Government Street, that is, of the fort esplanade, was a fixed limit, and that Government Street should be run out westwardly one hundred feet wide. The first city map was published in 1824 by Goodwin and Haire.

9. The Visits of LaFayette and Bernhard. About this time LaFayette, the friend of Washington, made a visit to America and was received with great respect. He not only went to the places which he had known during the Revolutionary War, but came south to the Gulf, and finally went back up the Mississippi River. He entered Alabama from Georgia in 1826, and whites and Indians alike showered attentions on him. He took a steamer at Montgomery, visited Cahaba and other places, and came on down the river to Mobile. The city was decorated in his honor, a triumphal arch thrown across Dauphin and Royal, and Mayor Garrow made him a speech of welcome in a hotel on Royal, a little south of Dauphin. The enthusiasm was great and sincere, and there was much regret when he had to take a boat for New Orleans. Mobile was becoming an object of interest to foreigners. About this time Bernhard, Grand Duke of Saxe-Weimar, also visited Alabama and went over almost the same road as LaFayette, but, while his rank was higher, his reception was not so cordial as that of the more distinguished Frenchman.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE COMING OF THE STEAMBOAT.

1. Transportation. At the beginning of our story we found the Choctaws, Cherokees, Chickasaws and Muscogees occupying the Alabama-Tombigbee Basin. By the first quarter of the nineteenth century we find that not only had Europeans settled the coast, but Americans have come from the north and east, until these Indian tribes have shrunk into small districts surrounded by whites. And yet if the whites have broken up the Indian nations, the Indians still prevented the Tennessee Valley from becoming one with the Alabama-Tombigbee Basin. The white settlements were in four or five groups in north, south and central Alabama, but they had the advantage of the same institutions and had the ambition to become one state. They were connected by wagon roads, although often very indifferent ones, but the chief means of travel now as ever before was by river. To make one state the parts must be better connected. In means of transportation there had been little change from French times. The Indian dug-out, made by burning and scratching out a log, had disappeared except in the Indian country, but pirogues and flat-boats of different kinds were in use. Sailboats were on the Bay, but they could not ascend the rivers, because there was not sufficient wind and no room to tack. The only way of getting upstream was by poling in shallow water or by warping the boat along by pulling on a rope around a tree upstream, for oars could not be used except with canoes. A flatboat trip from Mobile to Montgomery once took three months. The result was that country products generally came down stream in flatboats, which were broken up at Mobile and sometimes

their planks used for street curbs; but the return trip with goods purchased at Mobile must be made by mule or horse, as in pioneer days. Nevertheless a self-supporting state might have grown up in the Alabama-Tombigbee Basin as well as in the ancient peninsulas of Europe, and the difficulty of communication with the outside world had much to do with the local pride and State's Rights.

2. The First Steamboat. Just before the War of 1812 came Fulton's great invention of the steamboat. This was successful in the waters of New York and soon there were workshops at Pittsburg and an occasional steamer on the Mississippi River. The Orleans in 1811 was the first and was heartily welcomed at Natchez, the capital of the Territory.

The war interfered with the growth of this traffic, and there was no steamboat about Mobile until 1818, when the first was built at St. Stephens. Her name was the Alabama, constructed by Messrs. Deering and supplied with machinery brought from the North, but the engine was not strong enough to carry the boat against the current. A second steamer, rigged as a three masted schooner, next appeared, and had as little success. The first successful steamboat was the Tensaw of sixty tons, built in 1819 at Blakely, and she was long on the Alabama waters.

3. Up the River. The great question was how to ascend the rivers and the first boat to solve it was the Mobile, brought from Boston. She ascended the Tombigbee to Demopolis in May, 1819, but the current above there was too swift and she had to tranship her goods by barge to Tuscaloosa. One of the Bonapartist ladies went up on this first trip and says that they often had to stop so that the vines and branches could be cut away to let them through. The next boat to ascend the Bigbee was the Harriet. The Alabama River was not ascended until

1821, when the Harriet made this trip, stopping a day each at Claiborne, Cahaba, and Selma, and after ten days from Mobile reached Montgomery, where she took a party on a pleasure trip higher up. No other boat went up that river until next year, when the Tensaw reached Selma in August, and the people looked at her with astonishment, although few were able to make up their minds to get aboard the strange craft. All the first boats mentioned were side-wheeled but the Tensaw, which was sternwheeled. The pilot stood upon the deck and guided the boat with a lever. A few days later in the same year the Cotton Plant began her career upon the Alabama, and got up to Montgomery towing a barge. There was not enough steam for signals, which were given by firing a cannon on deck, and the boats did not venture to run at night. After the first boats the number rapidly increased and we find different names. Duke Bernhard was on the Steubenville and saw more than one wreck even at this early date. One was the Cotton Plant.

4. The River Towns. When the rivers reach the soft limestone of the Black Belt they become navigable except so far as interrupted by sand bars in low water, and at this fall line the incoming Americans built towns, some of which became important. In this way sprang up Wetumpka and Tuscaloosa, and with these at the head of navigation Mobile merchants soon carried on an active business. The cultivation of cotton increased with the facilities for shipping it, and all settlements along the river grew in size and value. The foundation of these places dates back much earlier, but they become of real importance only with the invention of the steamboat. In the twenties the more important landings were Claiborne, Cahaba, Selma, Montgomery and Wetumpka on the one river and St. Stephens, Demopolis, and Tuscaloosa

on the other. Tuscaloosa soon had a special importance, in that in 1826 the capital was removed there from Cahaba, which was found subject to overflow.

5. The Big Steamboats. Within a few years the growth of the Black Belt was such that the steamboats increased in size and speed, and many of them became real palaces. The river was the only mode of travel, and, as affluence came to the planters, the boats were made better suited to please them and their families, and in the thirties and forties came the time of famous boats. A trip upon one of them at the cotton season was worth taking. There was every comfort in the beautiful cabins, and outside was the ever changing scenery of bluff, forest and stream. Sometimes the boat would stop to wood up, or to receive cotton shot down the slides from the warehouse on the bank, and the singing of the negroes, the weirdness of the scene, particularly when lighted up by torches at night, made an impression which could never be forgotten. The boats were almost all side-wheelers making fast time, for time was more important for boats then than now in the railroad epoch.

6. Alabama City. Blakely had been planned as a new port for the growing Alabama-Tombigbee Basin, and the coming of the steamboat led to the plan for another port on the eastern shore. It was supposed that the river boats could go across the Bay with their cotton as readily as to Mobile, and so a point lower down was selected for a port which would be on deeper water and nearer the mouth of the Bay. In the thirties, therefore, there was an elaborate plan, principally by New Orleans and New York people, for a city at what is now Fairhope. A large tract was set apart and subdivided into squares and lots which were sold at auction on the spot and also at Mobile and New Orleans. A roadway was cut through the bluff

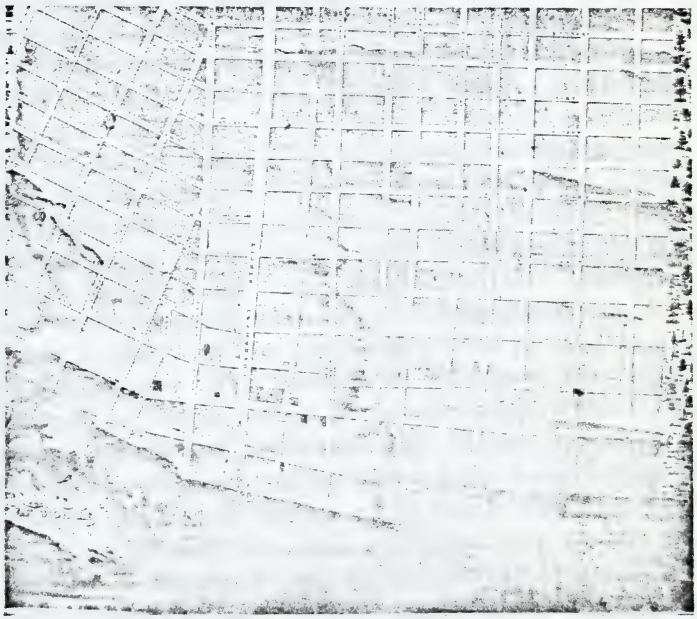
down to the water, and, instead of dredging a channel in, a levee was filled out to deep water. A good deal of money was spent on this enterprise, but the panic of 1837 practically put an end to it. The company was in existence up to the Civil War, and some work was done, but the growth of Mobile made it hopeless to make a success of the enterprise.

7. *Results.* If the steamboats developed inland towns, they had even a greater effect on Mobile itself. We have seen how the town built a business wharf at the foot of Dauphin Street, and this did not long continue by itself, for by 1824 a dozen wharves, all owned by private citizens, went out into the river to the north and south of Dauphin. Water Street had been early reclaimed, and in the twenties came Commerce Street, filled up by the city to accommodate the growing trade of the place. And another kind of water was needed also. The question of water to drink had always been serious, and almost the first thing the Americans did was to sink wells at the intersections of streets, as at Dauphin and Royal, and they long remained in use. But they furnished only surface water after all, and Mobile, almost as soon as it became a city, was to plan for a water supply from Bayou Chateaugué or Three Mile Creek, as the Americans began to call it. Pine and cypress logs were bored and fitted to each other by iron tubes, and in the course of a few years wholesome water was supplied to the citizens. Some of these old logs have been dug up in recent years on Dauphin and Royal Streets and they were as sound as when they were put down in the earth. On the whole, then, the coming of the steamboat was a great event not only for Alabama but for her seaport too.

CHAPTER XXX.

KING COTTON.

1. The River Front. During the twenties Mobile began to take her rank as an American port. The business of the place was at first carried on over the city wharf at the



MOBILE IN 1823

foot of Dauphin Street, and as others were built the river front was the liveliest part of town. The shipping consisted of sailing vessels which anchored down stream, and of the flatboats and steamboats, which plied the rivers and were moored up stream.

Water Street was the front street of the town, as several east and west streets had now been extended to the river, and stores were built on the west side of Water. The principal east and west street at this time was Conti, and the heart of the business section was at the corner of Conti and Water Streets. John Forbes & Company had a canal nearby which gave them access to deep water, and McLoskey, Hagan and Company and other large houses had their places of business in this vicinity. The advertisements in the newspapers of the day were mainly of houses on Conti or Water Streets. Dauphin, however, was also coming into favor and in the division of the city into wards was the dividing line. The residences were built somewhat further west, particularly along Conception Street, and they extended also on the east and west streets. There was not as yet much business carried on south of Government. This district came into importance somewhat later in the twenties, when Henry Stickney built his block of brick stores at the southwest corner of Water and Church Streets. The business of the town was largely confined to cotton, which the steamboats were bringing from up the country, and which, after being compressed at Mobile, was shipped in sailing vessels to the eastern ports of America and also to Europe. The South West seemed to be finding its principal crop in cotton, and Mobile was destined to achieve its importance through this staple.

2. Whitney's Gin. Cotton growing could not be profitable unless some way was devised for getting the seed out of the lint, and this had been accomplished in Georgia. Eli Whitney of Connecticut was living on a plantation there and in 1793 invented a machine which by means of saw teeth would take the lint and leave behind the seed, which could not get through the bars. He did not patent his invention or get proper results from it

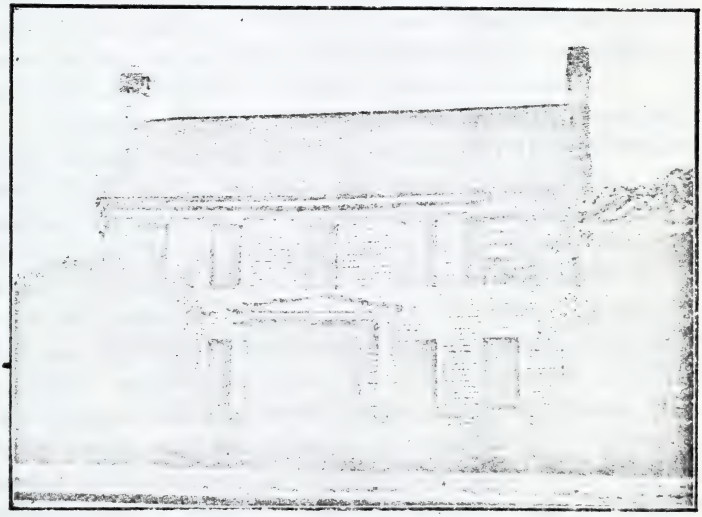
for himself, but his machine gradually made cotton planting more paying than had been dreamed. A man had been able to seed one pound of cotton a day, but now one engine, or "gin," as it was abbreviated, was able to seed three hundred pounds. This was the reason the South West was so sought after, and by the twenties the lands were taken up that were accessible to the steamboats.

3. The Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek. Much of the most fertile territory of Alabama still remained in Indian hands. They were now surrounded by white settlements and the whites coveted their farms. Many of the Indians had become farmers under teaching of missionaries and government agents, and looked forward to being citizens. But the Anglo-Saxons have never mixed upon equal terms with darker races, and efforts began throughout the Southern States to force the Indians to leave. It was declared that state laws controlled them as well as the whites, and their old customs were interfered with. It seemed impossible to keep the white man from encroaching, and the result was friction between the races and in some places between the states and the general government. At last the Choctaws were induced in the famous Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek of 1830 to sell their lands and move beyond the Mississippi. The same steps were taken with the Creeks, but there was more trouble with them, and the Mobile Rifle Company and soldiers from elsewhere had to be sent up the river by steamboat and march across to southeast Alabama before quiet was restored. It required several years to carry out this transfer to Indian Territory, which was done under the supervision of George S. Gaines, and to survey the new lands and get them on the market. Another land office was set up at Montgomery in 1832 and the making of counties began anew.

4. Increase of Crops. From this time on nothing retarded the growth of the interior and the consequent improvement of its seaport. When Alabama became a state the ruling section was the Tennessee Valley, for it had grown faster than any other district, but with the increase in cotton plantations Central Alabama became even more important, and this was shared by its seaport. It is true that the pine barrens around Mobile were not productive, but the planters of the interior shipped everything to the city and brought all supplies from there, and so Mobile was not so much the largest city as the one metropolis of the whole river basin.

5. The Buildings of the Thirties. The original town was too small for the growing cotton business, and the first great step in its expansion was taken in 1830 when the Orange Grove Tract was subdivided into city lots and sold to purchasers. This turned the northern part of Mobile into a cotton district and afforded a field for the building of warehouses, compresses and everything connected with the business. St. Michael was the northern street of the old town closest to the cotton district, so that on it grew up much of the shipping and insurance connected with cotton, and after a while so many Englishmen had offices there that it came to be known as the British Channel. Business of all kinds improved so much that 1836 was counted as the most flourishing year in the history of the city. There had been hotels along Royal Street, such as the Alabama where the Battle House stands and the United States Hotel where the old church had been, but now the handsome Mansion House was put up on Royal Street and Conti, and its pillars can still be seen in the present theatre building. The old church had been sold and a cathedral begun in the midst of the grave-yard on Dauphin and Claiborne, and there gradually rose the handsome edifice

which we know. The grave-yard was too close to town and burials were discontinued, and land for a new one was bought in 1818 south of Government and west of Wilkinson. It was divided into three parts. The southern was for the Catholics, the northern for the Protestants, and the western was the Potter's Field. The Protestants had in the early twenties built a Union Church of wood at the northwest corner of St. Emanuel and the street which was



GARROW HOUSE, 1819

called Church from it, and, as most of the incoming Americans were Protestants, the different denominations gradually separated from this mother church. And charity was abroad. The Female Benevolent Society was organized in 1829 to care for the poor and sick and its usefulness was much increased when in 1835 Henry Hitchcock donated land and helped erect the little brick houses called the

Widows' Row. These for over sixty years sheltered many, and with the little gardens attached gave pleasant and healthful occupation to destitute and deserving women.

6. Lumber and Naval Stores. If the cotton came from the more fertile Black Belt, lumber could only be obtained from the pine forests of the coast. These had hardly been touched in colonial days, but now the Americans set to work in earnest, either clearing them or obtaining naval stores in abundance. While it never rose to the same importance as cotton, the lumber business of South Alabama was a valuable asset to Mobile from early times.

7. Suburbs. Yellow fever was the greatest drawback which Mobile suffered in those days, and the epidemics were often fatal. No cure was known, except that the disease did not seem to flourish in the pine woods or on the hills, and so the elevated land west of Mobile came in demand for summer residences, the more especially as it was a very pleasant country in itself. In this way Spring Hill was platted in the thirties, and its many attractive residences were built, and also only less frequented was Cottage Hill, separated on the north from Spring Hill by Jackson's old Cantonment. One of the first highways opened by Mobile in the twenties was Spring Hill Avenue, running from Dauphin Street northwestwardly to Three Mile Creek, which it crossed and then recrossed to reach Spring Hill. Subsequently this route was improved and the road did not cross the Creek. Later yet a shell road parallel to this avenue was built by private subscription and saw many fast horses and fine vehicles. The Bay shore was also built up, and not only did handsome residences adorn its western bank, but a shell road was run along its shore as a continuation of St. Emanuel Street, and on it were pleasure resorts of all kinds. Many people

had summer residences across the Bay at the place called the Village, lower at Howard's, at Montrose where the British troops once encamped, and at Point Clear, jutting out into the Bay, was built a hotel which became a favorite resort of Mobilians in the summer. These places were reached by steamboats from town.

8. The Cowbellians. The Latin element was gradually yielding to the incoming Saxon, but it modified the Saxon in blood and customs. One of its interesting outcrops, a survival of French love for the spectacular, was the forming of a famous secret society in 1831. The story runs that Michael Krafft and some jolly friends were coming home long after midnight one New Year's eve and broke open a hardware store for fun. From it they secured horns, rakes, cowbells and other articles, and with them paraded the streets, making the night hideous. Not only was nothing done to them, but much amusement was afforded. This Cowbellian de Rakin Society repeated its performance on next New Year's Eve, and finally became one of the institutions of Mobile. It had a parade and gave a masked balls. A similar organization followed in 1842 named the Strikers Independent Society, another later called the T. D. S.

9. Forts. The cotton and lumber of Mobile generally went abroad on foreign ships, especially those from Great Britain. The port, therefore, became of great importance, and the United States recognized this from an early day by the Coast Survey, by placing a lighthouse on Choctaw Point, and by building a new fort on Mobile Point. Fort Bowyer had been of wood and could not be kept up, and so in the thirties the United States built a new and extensive fortification, whose bricks were made on the western shore of the Bay and the lime for its mortar came from the oyster shells of Dauphine Island and vicinity. Bearing

the date of 1837 and named Fort Morgan, this commanded the Bay, the Gulf and the channel off Mobile Point. The main channel now ran by Mobile Point and it was not deemed necessary to fortify Dauphine Island for fifteen years to come.

CHAPTER XXXI.

FLUSH TIMES AND WHAT FOLLOWED.

1. The Thirties. From the early thirties Mobile assumed the commanding position which it maintained throughout American period. People were attracted to the growing port as they never had been before and all the elements of city life came at a bound. The first warehouses were on Royal and elsewhere in the centre of town, but owners of the old Spanish tracts to the north and south early subdivided their lands and contended for the growing business. Conception Street was still the principal residence avenue, but Government, one hundred feet wide, was running farther and farther to the west. A street, named Ann for A. H. Gazzam's mother, was laid out two miles from the river and at its intersection with Government Gazzam put up a handsome residence, while next door Pinney built his college, and half way to town the Presbyterian minister Wm. T. Hamilton erected a home and planted oaks and magnolias which live until now. It is true that the old part of town was made up of one-story houses, often raised high up on a brick basement, and many of the people still spoke French and lived quiet, unobtrusive lives; but the bustling Americans were coming fast, stores of brick were building, and everything betokened a new kind of city from the Creole town of the past.

2. The Banks. The basis of all business is the exchange of one form of labor, or its product, for another, and this can be carried on readily only by means of money; for money measures the value of what one has to sell and of what he wants to buy. In these early days of Alabama wealth consisted in land, slaves and cotton, and, while the general government was weak and could not provide

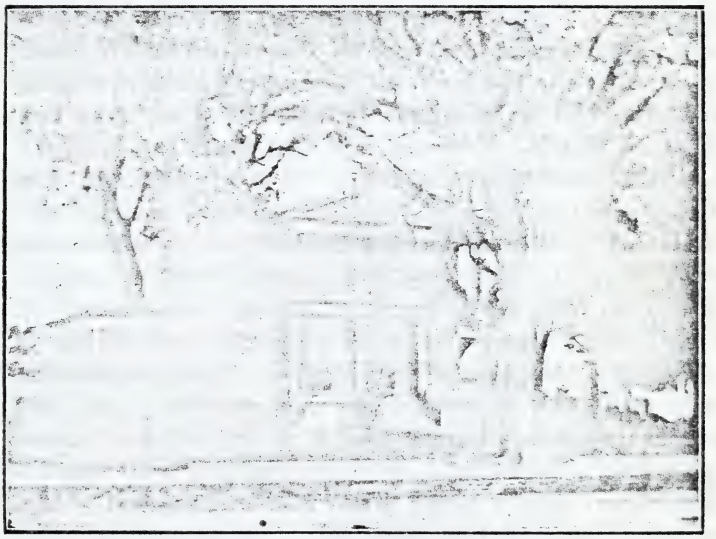
enough gold and silver for the circulating medium, the want was supplied by banks, which issued paper maney. So long as this could be turned into gold and silver on demand it served every purpose of money. The United States had a bank, with a branch at Mobile, and each state chartered private banks. The first in Alabama was one at Huntsville, and the second the Tombeckbé Bank at St. Stephens, both in the time of the Territory. It was a great step in advance when the Bank of Mobile was chartered in 1818, for it had a long line of able officers. Its first location was on Government next to the present court house and when it grew to be one of the great banks of the Union it erected for itself the building at the northeast corner of Royal and Conti Streets, at first with a cupola. In 1823 the Bank of the State of Alabama was chartered and the State put into its capital stock money coming from state lands and also afterwards the proceeds of bonds. By 1832 branches were established at Decatur, Montgomery and Mobile, and a few years later at Huntsville. The branch at Mobile used the handsome building at the northwest corner of St. Francis and Royal Streets. The Mobile banks were well managed and stood high throughout the United States.

3. Flush Times. The buildings of the thirties were an index of the prosperity of the people. The planters lived handsomely in the country during the planting season, with every luxury which money could supply, and during the winter many of them brought their families down the river to Mobile to enjoy the schools and gaieties of the city. The great desire of every planter was to get more land and more negroes, for this meant increased production of cotton. Many raised corn and hogs and other supplies, but the chief reliance was upon cotton. This produced a very interesting but peculiar kind of civilization.

Manufactures were hardly thought of because the same time and money put in agriculture would produce greater results. The numerous banks and the flood of paper money throughout the South made it easy to go into new ventures, and in course of time many people forgot that there might be reverses. At Mobile property increased to values which it has hardly since regained. Lands in the suburbs were bought up by capitalists and subdivided. The Kennedys early began selling lots in the Price Claim, the Favre Tract was subdivided in 1821, and the Orange Grove Tract was sold in lots in 1831 and became the seat of the cotton business. In the thirties the Bernoudy Tract and the Choctaw Point Tract were also platted off and sold. Even Blakely's marsh island opposite the city was subdivided, and Mobile extended in all directions. Its main reliance was on cotton from up the rivers. In 1830 upwards of one hundred thousand bales were handled, in 1835 there were about two hundred thousand, in 1837 they exceeded three hundred thousand, and by 1840 they reached four hundred and forty thousand bales. There were lumber mills and cotton compresses, and foundries were also established, but beyond this little was done in the way of manufacturing, for commerce confined itself to raw materials. Culture was not neglected in the growing city, and from 1835 dates the literary club known as the Franklin Society, whose library was extensive. There was no gayer place in the winter time than Mobile. Cotton began coming in about September and the last bales were about May, making a nine months busy season, with a long vacation during the hot months of summer, when many citizens went North.

4. New People. The opening of the Indian lands brought many new people to Alabama, and the prosperity which followed attracted many to her seaport. All

through her history Mobile has been indebted to the country for many of her best people, and at no time was this truer than in the thirties. Some came from other states, but most came to the city after residence in the country. St. Stephens continued in the twenties her notable additions in the persons of J. F. Ross, who had been state treasurer, and William Crawford, who had been



A GOVERNMENT STREET HOME OF THE THIRTIES

Federal land commissioner, and these were shortly followed by Henry Hitchcock, grandson of Ethan Allen of Vermont, and George S. Gaines, the old Indian agent now transformed into the president of the Branch Bank of the United States. There was also here in the twenties Thaddeus Sanford from New York, and in the early thirties Charles C. Langdon of Connecticut, the father of the Whig party

in Alabama and president of its first convention in 1838. Almost at the same time came John Forsyth of Georgia, whose father when minister to Spain had much to do with the treaty by which Florida became American. In the thirties the bar of Mobile received Judge Henry Goldthwaite, formerly of Boston, as well as William D. Dunn, of Tennessee, and Judge Abner S. Lipscomb, like Hitchcock already prominent in the state, now moved here from St. Stephens. About the same time George N. Stewart made Mobile his home. He had come from Pennsylvania much earlier as secretary of the Vine and Olive Company and after the failure of that enterprise he had settled in Tuscaloosa. These last four moved to Mobile in 1835, and the same year Percy Walker came from Madison County, and Octavia Walton came, a young Georgia girl, who was to be well known later as the wife of Dr. H. S. LeVert. There followed next year Josian C. Nott from South Carolina, who was to be one of the great physicians of the day, and of course there were many others beside professional men. Percy Walker was at first a druggist, and about the same time came Duke W. Goodman from South Carolina, to be a well known merchant, Daniel Wheeler from England and F. G. Kimball from New England. The experiences of Gavin Yuille, a baker from North Carolina, were typical. He travelled by wagon along the dirt roads to Montgomery, where he took a steamboat to Mobile, and began on Dauphin Street the bakery business which has been carried on by his successors ever since. When the great fire of 1839 burned him out, he moved to his well known site on Governemnt. Gustavus Horton of Boston was sent to Mobile in 1835 to collect some claims and preferred it to the little, struggling towns of Chicago and St. Louis, and settled here, as did Miles Treat, so long known in the furniture business. In 1837 came one of

the most distinguished men who has ever lived in Mobile, John A. Campbell of Georgia, who had already resided at Montgomery. The population increased from 3,194 in 1830 to 12,672 in 1840.

5. Water Works. The rights of the Aqueduct Company, which had been incorporated in 1820, were transferred to the city of Mobile by a law passed in 1824. The city acquired lands at Spring Hill on which were suitable springs, and from time to time laid pipes, first of logs and afterwards of iron, until there were in 1836 some 22,000 feet of different sizes. Henry Hitchcock made an offer to lease this property for twenty years, agreeing to operate the water works and supply the citizens with water. This was accepted and Hitchcock did a good deal of work, obtaining the assistance of Albert Stein, a well known engineer. New arrangements were made the next year, and after the death of Hitchcock the city in 1840 made an agreement with Albert Stein, by which all rights to supply water from Three Mile Creek were vested in him for twenty years. Further ditches were dug at Spring Hill, the works extended, a reservoir built on Spring Hill Avenue, and iron pipes laid in the thickly settled parts of Mobile, which supplied as good water as could be found anywhere. There was a clause in the agreement that at the end of the lease the city should pay Stein the actual value of the water works, but when this time came the lease was renewed for a longer period, and the Stein control lasted until after the Civil War.

6. Gas Works. Mobilians had at the beginning used candles and afterwards lamps in their homes, but there had not been any system for lighting the streets. In Europe lamps had been hung across the highways, but this had not been done in Mobile except on special occasions. The invention of gas was made use of in New York

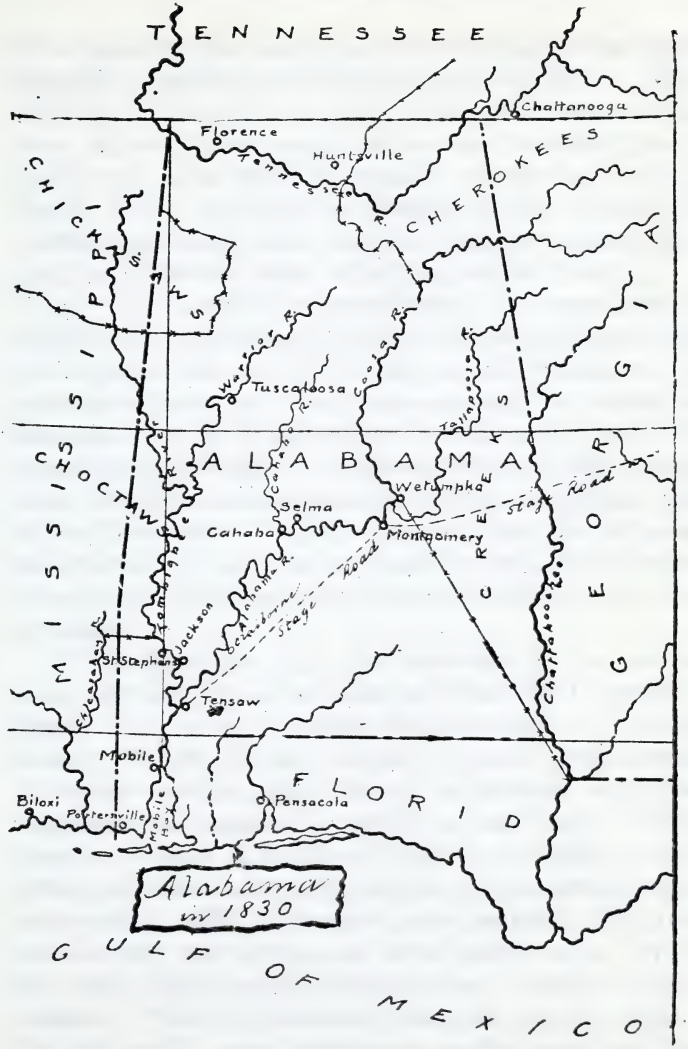
in 1823, but this depended on coal. James H. Caldwell introduced gas in New Orleans in 1835 and made a contract with the city of Mobile to erect gas works and to light the city of Mobile for thirty years. In consequence Caldwell bought land where Stone Street crosses Bayou Marmotte, built suitable retorts and tanks and laid pipes, by means of which the city and private residences were lighted in 1836. The coal both at New Orleans and Mobile first came by water from Pittsburg, but the English geologist Sir Charles Lyell visited Alabama in the forties and called public attention to the coal beds about the Warrior River, and in 1849 the State geologist Michael Tuomey made a celebrated report upon the subject. From that time some of the supply of fuel was native, but Alabama coal was not used for gas until just before the Civil War.

7. The Panic of 1837. The South West had grown prodigiously in the few years since the removal of the Indians, when suddenly the business of the country was rudely shaken. There had been a great deal of speculation in lands and when President Jackson prevented the recharter of the Bank of the United States it affected all the banks of the Union. The trustees of the United States Bank began to collect what was due that institution, and many people found that they could not pay. A good many of the other institutions had loaned more money than they could collect, and in addition to this doubt was thrown on the methods of the State Bank. The general result was panic and hard times. Business of every kind was interfered with. Such men as Henry Hitchcock failed, and much property passed into the hands of the banks. This is generally spoken of as the Panic of 1837, but like many other things the date is only approximate. It began in 1837, but it lasted for almost ten years, and in one way or another affected every business and every family.

8. Fire Companies. The bane of cities, especially in America, has been fires, which sometimes are uncontrollable, Mobile was a sufferer from this cause, and, as its citizens had in early times organized strong military companies to fight the Indians, so now they formed fire companies to fight conflagrations. The extinction of the fires was first in the hands of fire wardens,—officials in uniform and carrying long red poles crowned with gilt balls. They enforced laws to prevent fires, saw that citizens had leather buckets; and called on any and every one to work at fires. Regular fire companies brought a change of system. The Creole and Neptune fire companies were formed in 1819, when there was a great fire, and they were to have long and useful lives. In 1827 there was also a great fire and then in 1833 the Franklin Fire Company No. 3 was organized, three years later Merchants Fire Company No. 4, and in two years more Torrent No. 5 and Phoenix No. 6. These were made up of many of the best men of the place and did active service. The next year two more, Mechanics No. 7 and Hook and Ladder No. 1, were organized, for the growth of the city made them necessary. In 1838 the companies formed the Mobile Fire Department Association to take care of sick and infirm members, and in time this came to be a very useful institution. Five years later one more company, Washington No. 8, was created, the last except La Fayette No. 9, formed after the Civil War. In 1860 the city had 153 fire plugs. These companies had social features as well as hard work, for there were monthly meetings, occasional contests, and an annual parade and celebration on the ninth of April. While the organizations were made up of volunteers, they were really part of the city government, for the authorities annually appointed a general engineer and assistants for what came to be known as the Mobile Fire Department.

9. The Fires of 1839. There was need of such companies. In the 1827 fire the heart of the town was burnt out from the river to St. Emanuel Street, and from St. Francis Street almost down to Government. As the town was growing rapidly at the time, however, the damage was soon made up, and, as the small frame Creole houses gave way to brick buildings, the fire was in a measure a blessing. In 1839 was a different story to tell, for two conflagrations came at a time when the city was greatly depressed. The first burned the Government Street Hotel, a magnificent structure then building at the northeast corner of that street and Royal, resembling somewhat the Barton Academy, and passed on to consume the handsome Mansion House adjoining. Royal Street did not stop the flames, for they crossed to the city buildings at St. Emanuel Street, where was the fire bell tower, and left all a smoking ruin. It was thought at the time that the fires were incendiary, for a few nights later a still more disastrous conflagration began at St. Emanuel, burned both sides of Dauphin, and swept over to St. Francis Street and on towards the west. A house at the northwest corner of Franklin and Dauphin was blown up to stop its spread, and there indeed it stopped. In these cases, too, old French and Spanish houses were burned, but business was at the lowest ebb, credit was unknown, and few people could rebuild. There was difficulty in taking care of the homeless, and the destitution was not overstated in Percy Walker's famous speech in the legislature, where he was a member from Mobile.

10. Yellow Fever. In 1837 there was fever, and on top of the fires of 1839 came one of the greatest epidemics in the history of the city, for public conditions following the fire were such that the spread of the disease was increased. It was considered almost certain death to nurse a yellow


TENNESSEE
Florence
Huntsville
Chattanooga
CHEROKEES
MISSISSIPPI
Tuscaloosa
ALABAMA
Selma
Cahaba
Montgomery
Wetumpka
Jackson
St Stephens
Tensaw
Mobile
Biloxi
Pensacola
FLORIDA
GEORGIA
Alabama in 1830
GULF OF MEXICO

fever patient, but here as so often human nature showed heroism, forgetting self in the service of others. People died by the dozen every day, and nurses and medicines were scarce. Many people went away, but from this time dates the noble relief association called the Can't-Get-Away Club. As usual the disease did not cease to find victims until frost, and then the refugees returned home, and began the sad work of building up their city.

11. The Protestant Orphan Asylum. The good women of Mobile not only helped the sick, but gathered about them the orphans who were left by the terrible visitation. The need for a home for them was apparent and under such ladies as Mrs. Dr. Hamilton the Protestant Orphan Asylum was organized in 1839. It was controlled by lady delegates from each of the denominations and took complete charge of the little ones. In the course of time the ladies were able to secure a large lot on Dauphin and in 1852 built the commodious brick structure which still carries on its work of charity.

12. A Bankrupt City. An American city is a corporation, and the usual practice is for it not only to govern the people but to make public improvements on borrowed money. While Mobile was still a town small amounts of money were borrowed from time to time for different purposes, but these loans were soon paid back. The first important issue of bonds was thirty thousand dollars in 1830, increased four years later to two hundred thousand and again in 1836 to as much more, expended for grading and shelling the streets and other public uses. By 1839 the total debt was five hundred and thirteen thousand dollars. This was increased when the interest could not be paid, and by such expenses as putting up a new Guard house and tower in the place of the one recently burned. The city charter was amended after the great fires, but not

much good resulted, for a committee of the city boards investigated affairs and everything was found in confusion. A better system was begun, but this did not lessen the old debt. Attempts were made to settle with creditors, and amongst the items turned over to trustees for that purpose was the land which had been set apart for a public square. It was clear that a sale of property at that time would bring very little, however, and the creditors finally agreed to a settlement, which was ratified by the legislature in 1843. Certain taxes were provided to pay the interest and make reductions on the debt, and this fund was kept separate in bank. S. P. Bullard was commissioner to carry out the arrangement. He secured the assent of three quarters of the creditors and bonds amounting to $707,191.18 were issued. No property was sold and the extension enabled the city to take advantage of better times, which came after a while. These particular bonds have long since passed out of existence, but the debt which they represented is part of the present indebtedness of Mobile.

13. Grant's Pass. The commercial relations of Mobile and New Orleans were always intimate. In colonial times the shallow waters of Mississippi Sound and Lake Pontchartrain were used, but under the Americans vessels were larger and to reach New Orleans many had to go outside of Dauphine Island into the Gulf and steam up the Mississippi River. Some of the passenger traffic between the two places was carried on by boat from Portersville to Lake Pontchartrain, the rest of the way being by the Pontchartrain Railroad to New Orleans and by the Portersville stage line to Mobile. So many transfers, however, were unpleasant, and the general government in 1827 endeavored to dredge a channel from Mobile Bay to the Sound; but it was finally given up as impracticable. A man

named John Grant, lately of Baltimore, who had worked on the Choctaw Point Pass, was satisfied a channel could be made. He had lived both at Mobile and New Orleans and in 1839 obtained an act of legislature of Alabama which gave him the right to dig a pass and charge tolls on the traffic through it. It required a large amount of money, but he finally succeeded in making a channel through with a depth of five feet. Freight rates between Mobile and New Orleans immediately fell about one-third, and traffic was henceforth almost altogether carried on through Grant's Pass. The mail which had gone by Portersville was now taken by through steamers from Mobile to Lake Pontchartrain, originating the favorite and attractive Mail Line, in which Grant was a large owner. Not only was this due to the energy of one man, but due to him at a time when everything looked black around him. Grant's Pass was one of the first things pointing forward to a brighter day.

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE CHURCHES.

1. The Churches. Except during the brief rule of the British in West Florida, religion has throughout our story been represented by the Catholics. With the coming of the Americans at the end of the eighteenth century this was changed. The church ceased to have any connection with the state, but the Catholics maintained their church at Conti and Royal until this became the heart of the business section, when it was deemed best to sell and move the church itself to the old cemetery west of Jackson. There we have seen a stately cathedral rise on the plans of Michael Portier, a Frenchman beloved by the whole city, the first bishop of the see of Mobile, which had been established in 1826. For many years there were only the foundations of the building, then came the walls and roof, while the majestic pillars have been erected since the Civil War. Under this cathedral are buried its bishops and about it have grown up different institutions connected with the church, such as an orphan asylum, the bishop's residence, and schools. As the city grew one

BISHOP MICHAEL PORTIER

church was not enough, and different parishes have been cut off, but remaining under the control of the bishop. The first was St. Vincent de Paul built in 1848 on Charleston Street in the midst of a large laboring population, and then followed after ten years St. Joseph's on Spring Hill Avenue. Among the priests may be mentioned Father C. T. O'Callaghan at St. Vincent's, and Father Imsand at St. Joseph's. The Catholic Cemetery at Toulminville dates from 1848. Rev. John Quinlan succeeded as bishop upon the death of Bishop Portier in 1859 and lived until 1883.

2. The Protestants. The first Protestant preacher in the neighborhood of Mobile was the Methodist Lorenzo Dow, at Tensaw, but the Congregationalists had already been strong on the Mississippi River. The revivals at the beginning of the nineteenth century had a strong influence in the South West, and affected all Protestants. Missionary movements of all denominations kept pace with great immigration to the Gulf Coast. Each had its general governing body in the east and local bodies, such as conferences or presbyteries, and in this way each church was readily extended to the new settlements, and state organizations of each denomination date from the early twenties.

They united in Mobile at the northwest corner of St. Emanuel and Church Streets in what was known as the Union Church, and from there branched off congregations which have founded the different Protestant churches in Mobile. Each church as it has been founded has had flourishing sunday schools and other benevolent institutions. They joined in establishing the Y. M. C. A. in 1856 and from the forties maintained the Seamen's Bethel.

3. The Presbyterians. While the Presbyterians have never been the strongest denomination, they have always been among the most active, and even while the Union Church was in general use the Presbyterian preacher J. B.

Warren was collecting funds and giving all he had in 1828 to build a church next east of the present Yuille's bakery. In the early thirties William T. Hamilton, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Newark, N. J., came South for his health and was made pastor of this congregation. Among its members were such men as Henry Hitchcock, and they built in 1836 and 1837 the church still standing at the northwest corner of Government and Jackson. As first constructed it had a tower in which was the city fire bell, but the storm of 1852 injured the belfry and it was removed. In 1859 came J. Ralston Burgett from Ohio, and he was to be pastor for forty years. At different times this congregation has proved to be the mother-church for others, and from it went out in 1842 the second Presbyterian Church, which stood until after the Civil War at the northeast corner of St. Francis and Conception, and in 1853 the third church, on Jackson and St. Michael Sts. These two after the War became the Jackson Street Church, now the Central Presbyterian.

DR. J. R. BURGETT

4. The Methodists. The Methodists were strong enough to build in the thirties what has been known as the Bee Hive at the southwest corner of Franklin and St. Michael,

from which branched in 1842 the St. Francis Street Church. The Methodists have always been a powerful element in Mobile life, and all of the strongest men in the Alabama Conference have been at Mobile from time to time. Among the best known should be mentioned Philip P. Neely, whose sermons have been collected in book form, T. T. Dorman, and W. H. Milburn, the blind preacher. Milburn before and after the War was chaplain of Congress and has written well known books telling of his life in the South.

5. The Episcopalians.

The Episcopalians have had a large proportion of prominent men. They remained in the old church on St. Emanuel Street after the others left, but, when the building fell into bad repair, worshipped at the southwest corner of Jackson and St. Francis Street until burned out in the fires of 1839. Two years later they built Christ Church, which has been a mother-church for the Episcopalians. Under it are buried several of its pastors. In 1847 was established Trinity Church to the north and in 1852 St. John's among the working classes in the southern part of the city. Trinity's rector for a long time was J. A. Massey, who returned after the Civil War, and at St. John's was J. H. Ingraham, who, besides being an efficient pastor,

BISHOP R. H. WILMER

wrote (but not in Mobile) the famous books "Pillar of Fire" and "Throne of the House of David." As Mobile was the strongest city in this denomination, the Episcopalians, like the Catholics, finally secured the advantage of a resident bishop. This was from 1861 Richard Hooker Wilmer, of Virginia, a much beloved citizen. He lived at Spring Hill, where his churches gave him a handsome home.

6. The Baptists. The Baptists were early in the Alabama-Tombigbee Basin, but their stronghold at first was rather in the country than the city. They were first on St. Anthony Street, and built on St. Francis in the forties, and have been active in church life in Mobile. The St. Francis Street Church, like the Government Street and Christ Church, had a belfry for a long time. The Baptists did not subdivide before the War, and remained in one large church, except that in the fifties they built a mission at Broad Street and Spring Hill Road.

7. Other Denominations. Other Protestant denominations have had a foothold in Mobile, but have been less successful. The Unitarians numbered some prominent citizens, such as Charles P. Gage, and in the fifties built a church on Jackson second north of St. Michael. One of their pastors was John Lord, who afterwards wrote well known work "Beacon Lights of History." The congregation, however, was not strong in numbers, and the building was afterwards turned into a Music Hall.

8. The Jews. We have had Jews at Mobile from British times, coming from Germany, Portugal and elsewhere. A number came from Germany in the forties on account of the revolutionary movements in Europe, and to them was due the founding in 1844 of the congregation known as the Gates of Heaven. The Jews had their own section in Magnolia Cemetery two years earlier. Services were held at different places, but the first synagogue was

dedicated in 1846 on St. Emanuel Street next to Christ Church. Among their prominent men were I. I. Jones and the lawyer Philip Phillips, and by 1853 they had so outgrown their quarters that they bought the Music Hall on Jackson Street. After a fire this was rebuilt and used as a synagogue for about fifty years.

9. Negroes. While the law as a mater of prudence forbade the assemblage of more than four negroes together, they enjoyed religious privileges, whether on the plantation or in town. Every white church opened its galleries to the servants of the members, and often the fervent singing of the black people excelled that of their white masters on the floor below. In Mobile several denominations set up negro churches, visited by the white ministers, and sometimes with regular white preachers of their own. The Episcopalians in this way established the Church of the Good Shepherd in 1854 and the Methodists had two negro churches. One was the State Street Church, located on that street near Lawrence, and the other was Little Zion, at the northeast corner of Church and Dearborn, which had white pastors. One of the best known congregations was that which the Baptists maintained under the name of the African Church, at the southwest corner of Chestnut and Cleveland Streets. This was a plain but commodious square building with large gallery, and has not been changed since in any material respect. The religious exercises of the negroes were more emotional than those of the white people. The singing was melodious, and the responses to the preacher took the form of shouting, especially among the Methodists. Conversion was called "Coming through." One affected by religion would be much depressed for days at a time, when suddenly, no matter what he was doing, he might drop everything and shout or fall in a trance. Something similar would sometimes

happen during the regular church services. These services and also the baptizing in Three Mile Creek or elsewhere among the Baptists were noisy if earnest affairs, and attracted crowds from every quarter.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE MOBILE & OHIO RAILROAD.

1. Canals and Railways. In colonial days the people had first lived near the seacoast and afterwards as population increased they moved up the larger rivers. In course of time the settlements were connected by roads, but it long seemed that the Apalachian mountain range must bound English colonies on the west. The Mississippi and its tributaries ran through French and Spanish country and even when the Americans crossed the mountains to the Ohio River they traded with the Spaniards of the Gulf. To overcome this the general government built what was called the National Road from the Potomac over the mountains to the country northwest of the Ohio, and canals were talked of to connect the Mississippi Valley with the Atlantic. Canals in fact were begun in Virginia and Pennsylvanis, but New York's Erie Canal, opened in 1825 from the Hudson River to Lake Erie, was the most successful one. The Federal government gave lands to aid in these plans, but in the early thirties came a different mode of transportation. This was the railroad. At first the railway was used to connect river basins or to run from one large city to another and bore names accordingly. South Carolina built one from Charleston to Augusta in the early thirties, and the State of Georgia in 1845 built another from Savannah to a point on the Chattahoochee afterwards called Atlanta. Charleston saw her trade lessening and that of New York growing on account of canals and railroads, and under the leadership of Hayne sought to extend her railroad through the mountain country just ceded by the Cherokees until it should reach Nashville and the Ohio Valley. The plan fell through,

but it showed the way for other enterprises. The roads which were actually built from Savannah and Charleston to the northwest joined at Atlanta, and, after Georgia finished her road to Chattanooga in 1851, brought a great deal of business to these cities. They showed that railroads could rival rivers.

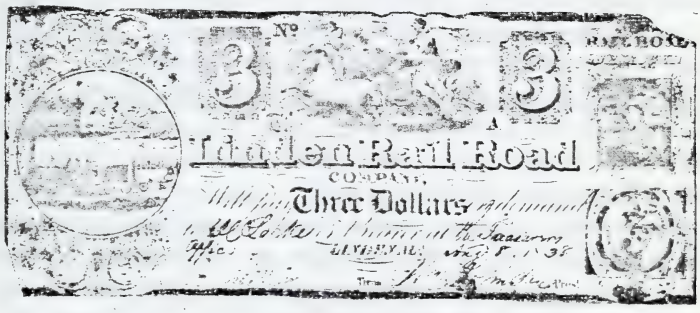
2. Alabama Railroads. These railroads were primitive in construction and methods. At first they consisted of long strips of iron nailed to wooden sleepers, and the engines were small and could go only a few miles an hour. The trains were composed of both passenger and freight

RAILROAD MONEY

cars, but they were a great improvement on the old wagons and dirt roads of the country, and were much used. Boats were pleasanter, but rivers were uncertain and the early steamers were not safe. The first railroad in Alabama was one around the Mussel Shoals from Tuscumbia to Decatur. It was not a steam railroad at first, although finally it became a part of the system by which Gen. E. P. Gaines planned to connect Memphis with Charleston. Another early railroad was the West Point Railroad of 1853 from Montgomery to join the Georgia Railroad, but this tended

to take the business of the East Alabama towards Savannah instead of down the river to Mobile as it had been going.

3. Cedar Point Railroad. Mobile was situated at the head of a large bay, but the great river system behind it deposited masses of mud which on meeting the salt water fell to the bottom and formed bars which prevented large vessels from coming up to the town. The old channel was around by Blakely and Spanish River to the Mobile, and this was one of the reasons for building the town of Blakely. The citizens of Mobile sought to have the United States government cut through the Choctaw Point Bar at the mouth of the river and through Dog River Bar



RAILROAD MONEY

a little below, so as to save this roundabout course, and in the late twenties Congress acted favorably. A small appropriation of twenty-five thousand dollars was used to cut a channel through the upper bar, but nothing was done until 1839 with the lower bar. The citizens of Mobile, therefore, undertook to help themselves and use the new invention of railroads to connect the city with deeper water of the lower bay. A company was organized and the Cedar Point Railroad was begun in 1836. The depot was on the corner of Church and Franklin Streets and the

road ran almost parallel with the Bay along what is still called the Cedar Point Road to Dog River. The cross ties were made of light wood and many of them still remain in perfect condition. The railway was graded for much of the distance on the other side of Dog River, but the panic of 1837 came before a bridge was built, and after a few years the road ceased to run.

4. A Railroad to the Ohio. Meantime the United States had at last spent fifty thousand dollars dredging a channel over the Dog River Bar, so that vessels drawing fifteen feet could come up to the wharves. This was a great improvement, but the prospect of having Charleston get all the business from the growing Western States was disturbing. The early forties were a time of great depression. The population of Mobile was twelve thousand and some people still came, but, while business was gradually recovering from the panic, it was felt that conditions had changed. Steamboats were active, but the river traffic alone was not reliable. Mobile could no longer claim the Alabama-Tombigbee Basin when Georgia was invading it with a railroad. At this time M. J. D. Baldwyn conceived the idea of building a railroad from the city to the mouth of the Ohio River and thus tap two great valleys at once,—the Ohio and the Mississippi. Men thought him visionary as he stood at street corners with his map and statistics, trying to interest the people; but finally he did interest Sidney Smith, D. W. Goodman and others, and a public meeting was held January 11 in the year 1847. The project was discussed and finally adopted, and the business men of a city of less than twenty thousand undertook to build a railroad five hundred miles long. When the books were opened next year over six hundred thousand dollars was subscribed. As planned, it was the longest railroad at that time in the world.

5. Interesting the Country. A charter was obtained February 3, 1848, from the State of Alabama, and others from Mississippi, Tennessee, and Kentucky, through which the road was to be run, having almost the same provisions. Right was given to raise money by public donation and taxation, and George S. Gaines and a Mississippi man were sent as subscription agents and Lewis Troost and John H. Childe as surveyors over the proposed line of the road. Much of the territory was still public land, and an effort was made to have the United States make a gift of lands somewhat as they had been doing for the building of canals in the North West. Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois had been trying to get this done for a proposed Illinois Central Railroad, but could not persuade the conservative congressmen from the South to help the bill through Congress. Now he visited Mobile, however, and agreed to include the Mobile & Ohio Railroad in the plan, and thus secure a railroad from the little town of Chicago to the Gulf of Mexico. The Alabama congressmen then agreed to help, and Congress finally passed the famous act of 1851, which gave alternate sections of public lands for the proposed railroad which was to connect the West with the South.

6. Stages of Building. From this time construction of the road went on steadily. There were some interruptions, as when new men were put in charge of the enterprise in 1856, and the country came more in control. Milton Brown of Tennessee became president and Colonel L. J. Fleming of North Carolina engineer, both to be long identified with the Mobile & Ohio. The difficulty with all Southern railroads was that to reach the sea they had to pass through a hundred miles of pine barren, which could afford little traffic except in lumber, but the Mobile & Ohio was surveyed up the Chickasabogue and along other valleys so as to have an easy grade, and so it was

able to pay expenses even through the Pine Belt. It reached Citronelle in 1852, and accommodation trains were run regularly, so that this really became a suburb of Mobile. In 1854 the terminus was Shubuta on the edge of the Cotton Belt of Mississippi, and thencetorward it began to bring paying quantities of that staple to Mobile for shipment. It is true there were no towns for it to reach, for the route lay through that virgin territory recently ceded by the Choctaws and Chickasaws; but as the road advanced villages sprang up, and in a short time the Mobile & Ohio became the pioneer trunk line to the Gulf, with many places on it which have become important points. The road bed was prepared from funds raised by local subscription, but the rails had to be brought across the ocean from England, and were paid for by a first mortgage, secured by the land grants. The policy of Tennessee was to secure the building of the road in that state as almost a separate enterprise, and to this end the state granted ten thousand dollars for each mile finished. This led to building the road from the north end also, for which purpose rails were taken up the Mississippi River, and there followed a new invasion of the old Chickasaw country, more peaceable but with greater results than that of Bienville over a hundred years before. The road, therefore, was built from both directions at once. Although the mineral region of Alabama was not yet developed except partially as to coal, the company found it profitable to erect its own machine shops at the village of Whistler in 1855, and it proved a most paying investment. The road reached Macon in 1856, West Point the next year, and built branches over to the Tombigbee at Aberdeen and Columbus. It now brought annually to Mobile almost ninety thousand bales of cotton. The Mobile & Ohio next invaded the Pontotoc country, where De Soto had wintered and where

Bienville had been defeated, and agriculture developed so much that the road in 1858 carried over one hundred and fifty thousand bales of cotton to Mobile. When the railroad reached Corinth, it found a link of the old project of the Memphis & Charleston Railroad, planned to run east by way of the Tuscumbia Railroad to the new town of Chattanooga. Meantime the engineers had been at the north end and by 1858 the road reached Jackson from that direction about the time that a rival railroad did from New Orleans. The gap between the two building parties was soon filled, and just as the Civil War opened the Mobile & Ohio was finished from Columbus, Kentucky, just below the Ohio River, to Mobile on the Gulf of Mexico.

7. *Results.* The result was an increase in business of every kind. There had to be more warehouses and compresses to handle the cotton and more shipping was necessary to carry it abroad, and this meant more employment for everyone. The buildings of the day reflect the general prosperity. The Battle House was built in 1852 and the Custom House about the same time, and these, the first great buildings near the river, had to be constructed upon piling. The dreams of Iberville seemed realized. The West had become tributary to the Gulf City.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE SCHOOLS.

1. Private Schools. From early Jewish days schools have been connected with the church, and we have seen this duty performed during French and Spanish times, and by the Catholics it was continued under the Americans. The Protestant denominations also had their schools, but there gradually grew up in New England the theory that where, as in America, the Church and State were entirely disconnected, education was the duty of the State rather than of the Church. Some of the incoming Americans came from New England, but more were from the South, and the idea of state education was slow in taking hold. Education as a whole was left to the enterprise of individuals. Many of the wealthy people on plantations and in town had private tutors, but there grew up also a system of private schools, which supplied much of the education of the youth. Some became famous, such as those of Dr. Waddell in South Carolina and Henry Tutwiler at Green Springs, Alabama, and some denominational colleges, such as that of the Methodists at La Grange near Florence, did much good in their districts. At Mobile a famous school was built by Norman Pinney in the thirties far out on Government Street. Dr. Pinney had been the rector of Christ Church, but left his congregation because of theological differences, and devoted himself to education. His school was called the Collegiate Institute but was more generally known as the Blue College. He taught with great success, and he became even better known perhaps as the writer of school-books, which were used all over the United States. This college was for boys, and for girls Mrs. Susan V. R. S. Hale did a work almost as

well known. She was a sister-in-law of Alexander Hamilton, and a woman of great culture. Her school in later years was in a brick building on the east side of Hamilton Street north of Church. In 1843 Amos Towle came out from New Hampshire, and, after being associated with Dr.

BARTON ACADEMY

Pinney, succeeded him at the Blue College. To such people as these many Mobilians were indebted for their education.

2. The Barton Academy. It was probably the New Englanders who brought to Mobile the ideal of public

schools. One of the most active men in the early city was Willoughby Barton, and while he was a representative from Mobile in the legislature he drew and had passed on January 10, 1826, an act which created a Board of School Commissioners for Mobile County. They were given power to establish schools and carry out plans for education, and among the commissioners were Dinsmore and Hitchcock. The principal revenue was from the grant of a quarter of the ordinary county tax, all the fine and forfeiture funds and some licenses. The square upon which the Academy stands was acquired in 1830 for twenty-seven hundred and fifty dollars, and much of the money needed for the building was raised by the endeavors of Henry Hitchcock; but, in compliment to the efforts of Barton, it was named for him. The building was not completed until the act of 1836 enabled the commissioners to raise additional funds by means of a lottery, and the schools were now extended to the county also. The first commissioners were elected by the people, but afterwards they were given the power of choosing their own successors. The Academy was not public in the present sense of the word, for there were practically no schools organized by the commissioners. The private and denominational schools of the city were held in the building, and appropriations were made by the commissioners for them. An act of the legislature in 1846 authorized tax payers to apply their taxes to the free Methodist school. Parts of the building were rented for society and lodging rooms, and never for more than a thousand dollars a year, which was about one-fifth the total revenue of the Board. In 1851 the Methodist and Catholic schools were each allowed twelve hundred dollars, Bethel schools a little more, Trinity five hundred dollars, and schools in the county thirteen hundred and fifty dollars. About this time a new plan

was formed by the School Commissioners, and they asked for authority to sell Barton Academy so that the interest on the proceeds would increase the fund to be distributed among the schools. Accordingly, an act of February 9, 1852, authorized the sale provided the people voted in favor thereof, and the question of sale was much discussed. Finally a public meeting was held which passed resolutions against the sale, and at the election the majority for "no sale" was ten to one. A different board was elected and they organized the school system on a new basis.

3. Mobile Schools. When the session was opened in November, 1852, there were four hundred pupils, divided among primary, grammar and high schools, and within a few months the number was more than doubled. The schools owed much to Willis G. Clark, who visited other states to study methods. In 1854 the work of the commissioners was approved by the people, city and county divided into school districts, and the first superintendent appointed. The scholars had now increased to over a thousand. The school laws were enlarged and improved by the legislature and the commissioners forbidden to apply any of their funds to sectarian schools. Two years later another important act was passed, containing only two sections. The first directed the Judge of Probate to give to the School Board the proceeds of liquor licenses in Mobile County, and the second authorized the commissioners to levy an annual tax not exceeding one-twentieth of one per cent upon the real and personal property in the county for the benefit of the public schools. Gustavus Horton was president of the Board at this time and said that securing the liquor licenses was an act of poetic justice; since the barrooms brought misery to families, it was right that they should in turn contribute to the support of the children. These two provisions remained until

lately. Just before the Civil War there were six city and twenty-five county schools, and among the text books used were Cornell's geography, Colburn's arithmetic, Quackenbos' readers, Harkness & Arnold's Latin books and Pinney's French courses.

4. The Alabama Public Schools. The Mobile system led to the organization of public schools for the state. As the interests of the interior grew and Tuscaloosa, Montgomery and Huntsville grew, there came a need for a state system. The United States had at a very early date granted the sixteenth section of every township of the public lands for the use of the schools, but not much had been realized from this source. Many of the counties exercised the right they had of selling the lands, and, although the money was generally applied to school purposes, the land sold for small sums, and to was seen that little good could be done without state assistance. The lead in this school movement naturally came from Mobile, and A. B. Meek, while representing Mobile in the legislature, drew and secured the passage in 1854 of a law establishing a public school system for the state. This in so many words recognized the good work done by the Mobile schools and exempted them from control of the state authorities,—a policy which has ever been preserved.

5. The University of Alabama. The capstone of the public schools is a state university. The early thirties were not only a period of prosperity throughout the South, but of awakening to the need of higher education. The University of Virginia was founded by Jefferson in 1825 and this gave a great impulse towards the building of state colleges. The United States had from an early date made donations of public lands to be applied to such institutions, and this was the case at the admission of

Alabama. A university was provided for by a state act of 1820, but it was not built for several years, when it was placed in the suburbs of Tuscaloosa, not far from the state capital. It was opened to the public in the year 1831, and gradually grew in favor, and had many famous presidents and professors.

6. Spring Hill College. There were also colleges at Mobile. The Catholics have always been a strong element in the population and many men of means and ability have belonged to that faith. In 1830 they built at Spring Hill, five miles from Mobile, the celebrated College of St. Joseph, chartered by the State in 1836, and declared a university by the Pope six years later. In 1847 it came under the control of the Jesuits, who have always been interested in education, and, equipped with good professors, it gradually grew to be one of the best colleges in the South. The attendance was principally from Louisiana, Mexico, and the West Indies, where its graduates have exercised great influence.

J. C. NOTT

7. Alabama Medical College. The epidemics had one good effect in developing fine physicians, and in the fifties these conceived the idea of building a medical school at Mobile. J. C. Nott was one of the leaders in this enterprise

and was seconded by George A. Ketchum and others, with the result that in 1853 the Medical College was founded. A whole square was bought and a handsome building erected by money of which the state gave fifty thousand dollars and Mobile as much more. Dr. Nott went to Europe and purchased its fine collections and museum, and in 1859 the college entered on its long career of usefulness. The institution ultimately became a part of the State University.

CHAPTER XXXV.

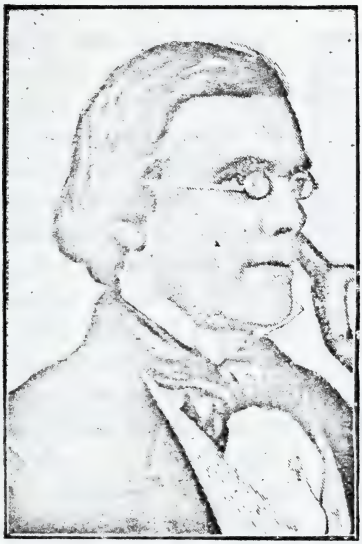
LITERATURE AND THE DRAMA.

1. Early Writers. The Creoles had not developed a native literature, and the Americans brought their books with them from the older states. The pioneers were too busy making a living to have the leisure which is necessary for writing books. Newspapers were the first form of writing in the South. They gave what news there was, and discussed politics, but literature as such was not much advanced by them. The earliest newspaper in this part of the country was the Mobile Centinel, published at Fort Stoddert by Thomas Eastin before the occupation of Mobile. The first newspaper afterwards was the Gazette, founded 1815, but the paper which outlasted all others was the Register, founded in 1821. Of books at that time there would be little to say. The first were law books and these were of Mississippi Territory and did not come from Mobile. The earliest from our river basin were the "Alabama Justice of the Peace," compiled by Henry Hitchcock when attorney-general and published at Cahaba in 1822, and the valuable "Laws of Alabama" published the next year by Harry Toulmin, at the same place.

2. Meek and Smith. The most versatile of Alabama authors was William R. Smith, but he touches Mobile life only for a moment. During the Texan War of Independence he shared the general sympathy with the Texans and raised a company at Tuscaloosa. They got no further than Mobile, and there Smith remained. He had edited the Southron at Tuscaloosa, and now began the Bachelor's Button at Mobile.

Meek also already had a career before coming to Mobile in the forties. He was a native of South Carolina, but

received his early training at Tuscaloosa. Almost all literature begins with poetry, for imagination seems to run freer in the country than in the city, and it was Meek's theory that verse is as much the product of a land as its flowers. He naturally began his literary career, therefore, by reading on the Fourth of July, 1838, a poem called "Day of Freedom," containing passages of great beauty. The Indian history of the Tombigbee Valley attracted him and in 1839 he published in the Southron several sketches, afterwards compiled at Mobile as "Romantic Passages of Southwestern History." The magazine was soon combined with the Batchelor's Button.



A. B. MEEK

One of Meek's best known books is "The Red Eagle," the story ot the Indian Weatherford(1855), and "Songs and Poems of the South" (1857) embrace many of his shorter poems.

3. Susan V. R. S. Hale. Mrs. Hale was a much beloved teacher of Knickerbocker ancestry and lived for a long time in Mobile. She published at New York in 1845 what is perhaps the earliest book written in Mobile, entitled "Saturday Evenings." It is composed of moral essays of the kind which used to be so common, but now little used.

4. Josiah C. Nott. Dr. Nott was not only a famous physician, but a writer of ability, and took especial interest in the discussion of geology and race, which in the middle of the century followed the publication of Hugh Miller's works in England. In connection with George R. Gliddon he wrote a book called "Types of Mankind," published by Gliddon in 1854, which had a large sale and was regarded as of great scientific value. His controversy at an earlier day with the Presbyterian minister at Mobile led in 1852 to the publication by Dr. Hamilton of a work called "The Friend of Moses," defending the old-time view of the Scriptures from the attacks of the modern scientists. This work was republished in Edinburgh.

MADAME LE VERT

5. Madame Le Vert. George Walton was mayor of Mobile in the fifties, and his daughter, Octavia, was one of the celebrities of the time. She and her husband, Dr. LeVert, lived at the southwest corner of St. Emanuel and Government Streets and there she maintained what amounted to a *salon.* No visit to the South was complete without seeing Madame LeVert and hearing her brilliant conversation, and Washington Irving said a century produced only one such woman. Her home was the scene of many social and literary gatherings. She

went to Europe with her husband at the time it was rare for an American woman to travel, and was admitted to courts and places not usually seen. Her letters back to her mother were very interesting and on her return she published them in 1857 as "Souvenirs of Travel." The book attracted great attention and made her the leading literary character of Mobile.

6. Augusta Evans. While Madame LeVert was holding her court in town, there was growing up on the Spring Hill Avenue out in the country another woman destined to be famous. Mr. Evans was in business in Mobile, and at his comfortable home, since known as the Damrell place, his daughter Augusta was writing from time to time, for it was impossible for her not to write, stories that attracted the attention of friends. "Inez, a Tale of the Alamo," was written early and published in 1857 and awakened a good deal of interest because of that tragedy, so fresh in the minds of everyone. In 1859 came "Beulah," and it was clear that a genius had appeared. The style was unusual, and the action at times stiff, but the novel was one of great power and widely read throughout the United States. It gave promise of even better yet to come, and withal the authoress was one of the most beautiful

AUGUSTA EVANS WILSON

natures that ever lived, and remained throughout her long life completely unspoiled by the fame which came to her. She was ever ready with her hand and pen to help any good cause, and no literary person has ever lived in Mobile who has had the same hold on the love of its people.

7. Madame Chaudron. The Vine and Olive Company ceased to be aught but a memory, and many of these French people came to Mobile to live. One was Simon Chaudron, a writer of ability and fame, who, however, wrote only in French. His daughter-in-law, Adelaide De Vendel, of the same old French stock, was also writing in the fifties, but was to become better known a decade later. She wrote a series of readers which were much used.

8. Lawyers and Ministers. Both lawyers and ministers at the South have found it easy to unite literature with their professions, for these professions are literary in their nature. Some law books have been mentioned, and both William R. Smith and A. B. Meek were lawyers, and Meek was probate judge at Mobile in 1854. A. J. Requier was district attorney at Mobile and just before the War he published a volume of poems of merit. The one to the memory of his wife, beginning "Mary, Mary, Mary, dear," is well known.

Nor were ministers behind the lawyers in this matter. Pinney's works were principally for schools, but he was a man of rare culture and his books often show great literary taste. Besides the controversal books already mentioned, the two books of J. H. Ingraham are famous,—his "Prince of the House of David," and "Pillar of Fire." They were written before he came to Mobile, but he brought their atmosphere with him.

The printing of sermons was more general in those days than now. Many such pamphlets have been preserved and the sermons of Dr. P. P. Neely were gathered in book form.

9. Other Writers. There were others, mainly poets, who published works just prior to the Civil War. Among these books were "Wild Shrubs of Alabama" by Julia M. Harriss and "Poems" by Harry L. Flash. Of books about Mobile there were many, and among them should be remembered Sir Charles Lyell's "Second Visit to the United States" in the forties and P. H. Gosse's "Letters from Alabama" a decade later.

10. S. H. Goetzel. Mobile in the fifties had become one of the literary centres of the Union, and an Austrain, who had made the place his home in 1853, bid fair to make it a publishing centre as well. He was a bookseller on lower Dauphin Street, and through his office on Fulton Street, New York, published for Meek, Madame Le Vert and Miss Evans the books which made them famous. In 1860 he published for William Walker that celebrated adventurer's "War in Nicaragua." Goetzel was a man of great energy and was highly regarded.

11. The Theatre. Mobile had no need to invent drama any more than literature, and one of her earliest citizens, Noah Ludlow, in 1823 erected the first theatre at the northwest corner of Royal and the street which was named Theatre from his building. This did not last long, but there was almost always a theatre in the city, and much of interest about all of them is told by Ludlow in his book "Dramatic Life." He managed the Mobile, New Orleans and St. Louis theatre circuit for many years. One of the local theatres was on the west side of St. Emanuel, where the Peerless Laundry now stands, somewhat famous from a shooting which occurred during a play; and perhaps the best known of all was one on Royal near St. Michael, just beyond the present Express office. After the burning of the Mansion House that vacant lot was used as a hippodrome and in the fifties rebuilt as a theatre. There

Joseph Jefferson ran about the stage when his father was an actor, and there many famous plays were acted. The elder Jefferson lived on the west side of Conception Street near St. Michael, and is buried in Magnolia; and Joseph Jefferson's childhood was spent in Mobile. Booth, Forrest, Dean and others appeared here, and one of the best known was Cora Mowatt, a lovely character in herself who wrote a charming autobiography. At this theatre it was that Macready made his famous objection to having it noted in the theatre advertisements that one Henry Clay would be present at his performances. By special invitation the Cowbellians attended the theatre in costume on New Year's Eve, 1844.

C. C. LANGDON

11. With the Editors. The Gazette was the first paper published at Mobile after the American occupation and in 1823 it was combined with the Register. This paper has had many notable editors and has had notable rivals also.

Thaddeus Sanford was one of the earlier American settlers and was for a long time editor of the Register. He was a Jacksonian Democrat and made the paper one of the leading journals of the South. In the fifties the editor was John Forsyth, of a prominent Georgia family, and a

Princeton graduate. Forsyth was possibly the most incisive writer who has lived in Mobile, and in his hands the Mobile Register was a power. He was minister to Mexico for two years, but returned to the Register, and edited it until after the War.

The city was large and flourishing enough for two papers. The Advertiser began in the twenties, and held its own until absorbed by the Register during the Civil War. The principal editor was Charles C. Langdon, a Whig, who bought the paper in 1838 and during his fifteen years ownership wielded great influence, not only in Mobile, but throughout the South.

THEODORE O'HARA

Willis G. Clark edited when Langdon was absent, and in the fifties founded the "Southern Magazine." All of these lived at a time when editorials were the special feature of a paper. News was important, but there was less news than now, and Sanford, Forsyth and Langdon had an influence which might now be impossible.

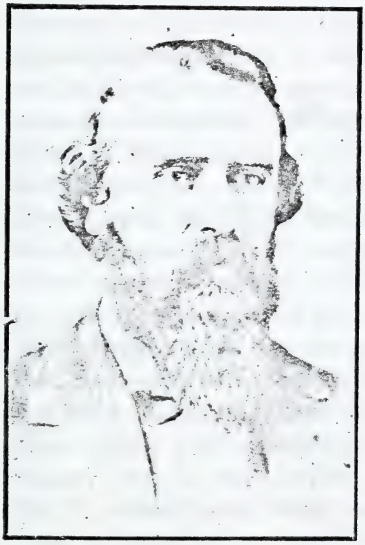
12. Theodore O'Hara. Just prior to the War Theodore O'Hara, a different kind of writer, was in Mobile. He was a Kentuckian and it was after service in the Mexico War that he wrote in his native state the celebrated "Bivouac of the Dead," now set up in many cemeteries. He

followed Walker in his expedition to Nicaragua and Lopez to Cuba, and was afterwards at Mobile as editor of the Register. In the Civil War he was for a time in the forts at the mouth of the Bay. He died shortly after the war on the Chattahoochee, and Kentucky had his remains moved to the state cemetery at Frankfort.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE GOLDEN FIFTIES.

1. Storm and Fever. Although the Mobile & Ohio was gradually opening a bright future, Mobile experienced the truth of the old adage that misfortunes do not come single.



GEORGE A. KETCHUM

In 1852 a southeastern wind blew the water of the Bay back into the city until all the ground which had been made east of Royal Street was for the time being under water again. This continued for several days and the damage done to stocks of goods as well as to the buildings was immense. A steamboat came up St. Francis Street almost to Royal; but, although the storm was severe, it had no lasting effect. People set to work at once to repair the damage and soon the great storm of 1852 was only a memory. Not so, however, with the epidemic of yellow fever which came next year, and called forth all the energy and heroism which was centering in the city. There were well known doctors, such as Nott, LeVert, Ross and Mordecai, besides younger men like George A. Ketchum and Claude Mastin, and their skill was taxed to the utmost. Of the thousands

of cases about one died out of every three. The epidemic was the greatest that had ever visited Mobile, and carried off many useful citizens. The loss of men is a damage which can never be repaired.

2. The River Traffic. The river trade made up the life of the city and of the state. The few railways connected different river systems, or ran out into the country a few miles from a river town, and what they brought in was shipped by steamboat to Mobile. From about 1850 the business on the rivers was greatly increased, and the boats themselves became of a different type. They were from two hundred to three hundred feet long, some side-wheeled, some stern-wheeled, carrying from one to three thousand bales of cotton and many passengers. The Emperor, the Cahaba, the Black Warrior, the Messenger, the Alice Vivian, and the Eliza Battle were famous, but possibly the most beautiful boat ever on the river was the Magnolia. These steamers brought corn and cotton, and, as they were the sole means of travel except by stage coach, were fitted with every luxury for the comfort of passengers. They cost from fifty to seventy-five thousand dollars each, but were often only short-lived. The Antoinette Douglas blew up at Tait's Shoals with many passengers on her second trip in the forties. The burning of the Eliza Battle, where even those who escaped by swimming to trees were frozen to death, was one of the great horrors of southwestern history. A number of boats were burned and others sunk, but some remained on the river for many years. These steamers ran upon both rivers, but in late summer the Bigbee was generally lower and the same steamers would then be transferred to the Alabama River. The general destination was Columbus or Aberdeen 470 miles up the Bigbee, Tuscaloosa 413 miles up the Warrior and Montgomery 403 miles up the Alabama,

although the trip was often interrupted in summer time by low water, as in 1855. Almost every bluff was a landing with a warehouse, from which cotton would be slid down an incline to the boat, where deck hands stowed it away. There were in course of time some four hundred landings on the Alabama River and over two hundred on the Tombigbee, and the business all centered at Mobile. By 1860 over eight hundred thousand bales of cotton were brought down for shipment, and of this at least two-thirds came by river.

3. Foreign Trade. There were no regular lines of ships to foreign ports, but the ship-brokers had no difficulty getting all the British and French vessels that were needed in the cotton season. On account of the size of the bale, it became usual to compress it to one-half the original size, or even less, and by the fifties there had been built in Mobile half a dozen well known presses, which put the cotton in shape for foreign shipment. South of Church Street were Mathews and Walker's presses, with which were connected five warehouses, but Wm. Jones, Jr., had now succeeded in his fight to keep most of the business in the upper part of town near the steamboat landings. The Alabama and Union Presses were at the corner of St. Michael and Water Streets, having seven or eight warehouses attached, while in the Orange Grove Tract were Factor's Press with a dozen warehouses, and Planter's and Shipper's Presses with as many more. The receipt and shipment of freight were not carried over a few wharves as in the thirties, but over dozens, extending from One Mile Creek on the north to the foot of Government Street. Few of these were owned by the city, for most had been built by private owners and were in the combine controlled by D. W. Goodman and C. P. Gage. Deep draft vessels could not come up to the city and a large business was done

by Cox, Brainerd & Co. in lightering cotton down to what was called the Lower Fleet. There were few steamships, but the Royal Mail Line from England to the West Indies called regularly at the mouth of the Mobile Bay. In the early fifties it took on board Alabama coal, which was well liked, and people could look forward to the time when other steamships would come. Indeed, late in the fifties a steamship line was started from Mobile to New York, and the day when the first vessel, the Black Warrior, arrived was observed as a general holiday.

4. Railroads and Stages. Alabama had not embarked on railroad building as had Carolina and Georgia. Many railroads were planned, but for a long time the Mobile & Ohio was the only long one built in the South West. One reason for this was that the steamboats were numerous and attractive, and another was that the money to build a railroad was more than the towns which it connected were able to supply. A great craze had arisen in the forties for plank roads, with toll-gates, and much of the energy which other states put into railroads was in Alabama put into plank roads. What afterwards came to be known as the Bay Shell Road was under its charter of 1850 a plank road and this provision was not changed for many years. A stage ran from Montgomery to Blakely, connecting with the steamer to Mobile, and a stage ran also from Blakely to Pensacola. By Montgomery went what was called the Great Eastern Mail. Bladon and Cullum Springs were now in great vogue. They could be reached by steamboat up the Tombigbee River, but the shorter trip was by the Mobile & Ohio to State Line and thence by a "splendid four horse coach" over to the springs. By this route passengers could leave Mobile at 9 o'clock in the morning and arrive at the Springs at 7 in the afternoon.

As other parts of the country built railroads Alabama could not escape the wish for quick transit also, the more especially as the steamers could not afford to sacrifice freight for speed. During the legislative session in the winter of 1851-52 there were chartered the Mobile and New Orleans Railroad and the Mobile and Montgomery Railroad. Neither was built at the time, but they pointed

DAUPHIN STREET

forward to the future, and the need of rapid transit for cotton led to the actual building of a road from Montgomery to Pensacola under the name of Alabama and Florida Railroad. This was a distinct threat to Mobile's commerce, and was met in time by chartering the Mobile

and Great Northern Railroad, which was built at the same period as the Pensacola road, and tapped it at Pollard about the time that the Civil War broke out.

5. Buildings. The progress of Mobile, due to foreign and domestic trade, was shown by the important buildings which were erected during the fifties. Among them were the Battle House and Custom House opposite, which had to be built on pilings driven deep into the soft soil. The Custom House was made of granite brought from New

BATTLE HOUSE

England by boat and cost three hundred and sixty thousand dollars. One of the most significant structures for the growth of Mobile was the Municipal Building, erected by city bonds in 1852, and taking the place of the old markets which the Supreme Court had ordered removed from the middle of Government Street. The city prison still remained at the corner of St. Emanuel and Conti, where from the high square tower built in the forties city officers called out the hours of the day and night, and summoned

the firemen by strokes of the great bell, indicating one of the four wards. The temperance movement of the day led to the organization of the Sons of Temperance and similar societies, and the building by a separate corporation of Temperance Hall, while the strength of the Odd Fellows was shown by the erection of their handsome hall on Royal Street. While these were the largest, many other public and private edifices were built and the aspect of Mobile gradually changed. A verandah across the sidewalk was usual in front of the stores on Dauphin, which had superseded Conti as the principal shopping street, and it was also used in a beautiful manner with private residences. From this time date the iron posts and railings, often copying vines or ornamental work, which still support many galleries. This became a destinctive feature of Mobile architecture, particularly on Government and Conception Streets.

6. Stores. Among the stores on Dauphin Street one could find everything that could be wished for in the retail business. Low down S. H. Goetzel and Company kept a large stationery and book establishment, and nearby were Strickland's book and printery and John Douglas & Co. dry goods store. Around the corner was Randall's book store, and higher up on Dauphin was Holmes' shoe store, Leslie's jewelry establishment, Gets' and Festorazzi's candy stores, Elsworth's crockery, and Coster, Soto, Meslier, Mohr and Cawthon had well known drug stores. The old English custom of signs was still maintained, especially on Dauphin Street. The drug stores often had a golden mortar in front, and P. H. Pepper's golden sheep, Herpin's golden bee-hive, and Phelan and Delamere's golden cotton bale pointed out popular dry goods stores. Arnold sold shoes, Snow and Bromberg handled music and toys, Barnes made the daguerreotypes of that day, and

the best known restaurant outside the hotels was the Alhambra. Noah Higgins was the favorite undertaker, and it is said that he always wept with the family at a funeral. Mazange, Letondal, Grady, Bidgood, Stirling,

MUNICIPAL BUILDING

Gelbke, Leinkauf, Forchheimer, Peter, Twelves, Partridge and Werborn were well known names, while the cotton buyers, factors and commission merchants were legion.

7. The Military. The military were always an important feature of Alabama life. General T. W. McCoy commanded the fourth division, whose ninth brigade was located at Mobile under Brigadier General Thomas J. Butler. The first volunteer regiment was made up of the City Troop, the German Fusiliers, Mobile Cadets, Washington Light Infantry, Independent Rifles, Mobile Rifles, LaFayette Guards, Gulf City Guards, Alabama Light Dragoons, the Bienville Blues, and the State Artillery, and their captains were prominent citizens of Mobile. The headquarters of the military were in the Armory, which took up the south wing of the Municipal Building on Royal and Church Streets. Drills in the Camp Ground west of town and parades in the streets were frequent, accompanied by pleasant social features. The military nature of Mobilians was illustrated by some of them, like Harry Maury, joining in the Lopez expedition to Cuba in 1851, and in Walker's filibustering adventure against Nicaragua which sailed from Mobile in 1858.

8. The Police. The police had now attained its present form. The origin of the force is in the city watch of London, made famous by Shakespeare. While Mobile was a town each of the wards had a commissioner to enforce the ordinances, with two constables to assist him by making arrests, and when the city was established a watch, commanded by a captain, was organized, on which any and all citizens had to serve by turns. In 1825 a police force was begun in the modern sense of the word, and by the fifties it numbered three dozen men, under an efficient chief, Stephen Charpentier.

9. The Outlook. The mayor of Mobile held a court at the city hall and also looked after the administration of the government. A famous mayor was C. C. Langdon, who went into office in 1849 and remained until he was

succeeded by Jones M. Withers in 1856. Both were active and efficient officers and did much to forward the public interests. A number of lawyers already named had now become prominent and to them should be added as flourishing in the fifties Edmund S. Dargan of North Carolina, who had been on the Alabama Supreme Court, Raphael Semmes of Maryland, who came in the forties, and Robert H. Smith, born in North Carolina but who had already lived in the interior of Alabama before coming to Mobile in 1853. It was at this time John A. Campbell was promoted to a seat on the Supreme Court of the United States. The population was little short of thirty thousand, of whom two-thirds were whites, almost evenly divided between the two sexes. Mobile had now reached a stage where beauty played a part in her development. Bienville Square had been surrounded by a handsome fence, the sidewalks were paved throughout the city, and many streets were shelled. In 1858 the Omnibus Company was chartered, which operated a line of busses on Dauphin, and street cars were introduced on Spring Hill Road. Sanitary sewerage was as yet unknown, but water, gas, police and all the other appliances of a modern city were at Mobile. It still remained a shipping port for raw material

JOHN A. CAMPBELL

brought down the rivers, such as cotton, sometimes lumber and a little coal; and if the rivers could be improved there would be much more coal and even iron, which was known to exist on the Cahaba River. Of manufactures, however, there was as little now as in the past. There was throughout the South much discussion as to factories, and Daniel Pratt established one near Montgomery which was very successful. There had been a factory making cotton cloth on Dog River, but smoke did not long come from its tall brick chimney. The genius of the people did not seem to run towards manufacturing, except that saw mills and foundries flourished. The principal business was trade with the interior and with Europe, and banks, insurance and professions were well developed, for they were incidental to commerce. Mobile was essentially a port, and her future outlook was unequalled in her history.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

STATE AND FEDERAL AFFAIRS.

1. The Building of a State. During colonial times our interest has been centered upon the river and bay of Mobile, while during the territorial epoch the Tennessee Valley and the Black Belt grew so rapidly in population and wealth as to call our attention to these districts also. It has been the mission of the state not only to make a unit of Alabama, but to give it an equal place with the old English colonies in the Union of States. Mobile during all this time has been the principal city and our outlook has been from this point, but we will now sum up public affairs of the state at large.

In order for Alabama to become a unit it was necesasry to remove the Indians from the east and west, to supply money of some kind for the purposes of business, and to connect the Tennessee River Basin and Alabama-Tombigbee Basin by some form of internal improvement. These marked the principal steps in the growth of the state. The need of money was met by establishing banks, particularly the Bank of the State of Alabama, and for two decades it served its purpose. Together with private banks it did much to develop the country, and for several years there were no taxes, as public expenses were paid from the profits of the State Bank. When its powers were abused it was a Mobile man, John A Campbell,. who in 1842 began the legislation which led to the winding up of the Bank by Commissioner F. S. Lyon, of Demopolis.

The removal of the Indians was effected by the state although the treaties and formal steps had to be taken by the Federal Government. Encroachments upon Indian lands became general and state laws and state officials

exercised control over the tribes themselves. Only then did Federal government take the needed steps resulting in removal. Treaties were made at different times in the thirties and that decade ran out before all the Indians took their departure.

The question of connecting the different districts of the state commercially was of slower solution. Roads were built by local authorities, canals planned, and finally railroads were to solve the problem. The North and South Railroad was projected northwardly from Montgomery and the Alabama-Tennessee Rivers Railroad was built through Selma to the lower coal and iron regions; but the full solution was not reached until after the Civil War.

2. Governors and Capitals. Banks, Indians and railroads involved social movements, and these are slow, and, while full of meaning, do not come with observation. Much less important matters, such as who should become governor and where should be the capital, entered much more in state politics. Considering the importance of Mobile and the fact that for a while it paid almost quarter of the state taxes, it is remarkable that no governor has ever come from this port. The governors have been chosen from the Tennessee Valley or from the Black Belt. The Tennessee Valley has always acted as a unit, while outside of Mobile South Alabama was not populous, and moreover sometimes the planters have had a jealousy of the port with which they did business. This showed itself in the legislation of the thirties aimed at the warehouses of Mobile. Nevertheless, on the whole the interests of Mobile and the Black Belt were identical; so much so that several of the governors and state officials elected from the river counties have afterwards made their home at Mobile. The first of these was John Gayle, a South Carolinian who had moved to Claiborne. While goveronr in the thirties

Gayle carried out the state policy as to the Indians and in so doing came in conflict with the President of the United States, who was no other than Andrew Jackson. The mattter was only adjusted by the President sending out Francis Scott Key, author of the Star Spangled Banner, on a special mission to Alabama. Gayle afterwards moved to Mobile. Arthur P. Bagby was likewise a distinguished governor for two terms in the late thirties, and his family has long resided in Mobile. The same is true of John A. Winston, who was governor in the fifties. Of local importance was the selection of the capital. Cahaba was abandoned for Tuscaloosa in 1826, and with the growth of East Alabama after the removal of the Indians a further change was determined on. In 1847 Mobile received some votes, but Montgomery was selected. The capitol there was burned two years later but soon rebuilt.

3. Federal Politics. The United States admitted Alabama as a state, but Alabama had earned this honor without much help from the Union, for the Creek War which made Alabama had been tought by volunteers and not by United States regulars. Immigration had been aided by the liberal land laws, but the removal of the Indians was forced by the state itself. The first presidential vote of Alabama was cast by the legislature for Monroe in 1820 and four years later for Jackson and Calhoun. It was not until 1828 that presidential electors were chosen by popular vote, and then the Alabama candidates, Jackson and Calhoun, actually became president and vice-president. The people were opposed to centralizing the government, and Alabama's representatives favored a low tariff instead of the high tariff desired by the manufacturers of the East. In 1840 the Whig party attained strength in a reaction from the Democracy of Jackson's day and from this time onward it had great strength in

Mobile and Montgomery, as well as among the large planters. In 1847 Governor Gayle was elected member of Congress from the Mobile district as a Whig, but John Bragg, after a long career as state circuit judge, ran as a Democrat and after an exciting canvass in 1851 defeated C. C. Langdon, a Whig, who was almost continuously mayor of Mobile for twelve years. Philip Phillips, a Democrat, originally from South Carolina, was in the fifties a member of Congress from Mobile.

R. H. SMITH

4. Federal Officials. In 1820, the same year that the state supreme court, made up of the circuit justices, organized at Cahaba, the Federal government established a Federal disdrict court for Alabama. The first judge was Charles Tait, and he was succeeded in 1826 by William Crawford, so long connected with the land office at St. Stephens, and then district attorney. His successor was John Gayle in 1849, who presided with great satisfaction to all for over ten years. Upon his death William G. Jones became district judge. Alabamians held even higher Federal offices. McKinley had gone upon the Federal supreme bench from North Alabama at an early date, and upon his death in 1853 John A. Campbell of Mobile was appointed to succeed him. The year before

this William R. King, who lived near Selma, which he named, was elected vice-president of the United States. In the national agitation over Texas Alabamians entered heartily and furnished soldiers. Few of them were needed, however.

5. Slavery. We have seen that society rests upon political, religious, social and industrial foundations. Political and religious matters have occupied much of our attention and it is time to take up social conditions. Partly social and partly industrial is the subject of labor as it existed in the Southern States. The class which did the manual labor were African slaves, but slavery had lost much of the severity it had while the blacks were imported savages. The negroes were often spoken of as "colored people" and the word "servant" or "boy" was much oftener used than "slave." At Mobile in the fifties there were about nine thousand negroes, of whom one thousand were free and had to be registered annually. The slaves were employed as laborers in all branches of business, particularly in cotton. The house servants were practically members of the family, slept on the place in outhouses, and many of them were given some education. People often hired out their negroes, and not a few widows and families were dependent upon the earnings of a faithful man or two, whom they seldom saw. These might be barbers, or cooks on river steamboats or the line to New Orleans, or serve in any other capacity, and would come at regular intervals to pay over their earnings and receive themselves what was needed for their own support. The negroes were kindly treated, not only from self-interest of the masters, but from the attachment that naturally exists between people in a high and a dependent condition. An almost feudal system grew up, particularly in the country. Religious instruction was carefully given, and in sickness the mistress of the house in town, as of that on the plantation,

gave the negroes the same care which she did to her own family, and on the other side the old uncles and aunts and mammies loved their "white folks" devotedly. The principal defect about slavery was the breaking up of negro families by sales. In early days this was not much regarded, but it was coming to be recognized that family ties should be recognized. Preachers of all denominations laid stress upon it, and public opinion prevented the selling of one away from the family where it could be avoided.

6. Police Regulations. Not only did people moving to Mobile bring their servants, but there was a regular domestic slave trade in the South. Many negroes were brought by speculators from Virginia, where the climate was not favorable to their use, and sold in the more southern states. The market in Mobile was on the west side of Royal between St. Louis and St. Anthony, where a three-story brick building with barred windows (on the site now occupied by the Electric Lighting plant) was the barracks in which the slaves were kept. The business was looked upon as one that was necessary, but confined to a certain district, and people who carried it on did not rank high socially. All negroes were kept under supervision. Free blacks on board ship were not allowed to land; slaves were not permitted to own property, except indirectly, and their assemblages were forbidden. At night they had to be indoors by nine o'clock, and in the day time they must show a pass from their master.

7. The Last Slaver. Few of the negroes about Mobile had come from Africa. They were descendants of slaves who had been in America for generations. The slave trade had been prohibited by the law of the United States ever since 1810 and there were few violations of the statute. The planters generally did not desire savages fresh from Africa, but one cargo was brought over in the late fifties,

which created quite a sensation at the time. The schooner Clotilda sailed from Loanda in Africa with several hundred negroes, prisoners captured by the warriors of one tribe in a war with another tribe, and sold to American speculators. The Clotilda safely reached Mississippi Sound and was taken in charge by Tim Meaher and run up the Bay and river by night without being observed. The negroes were hidden in the marshes of upper Baldwin county, and the Clotilda was then taken up Bayou Conner and burned. The Federal authorities took proceedings against Meaher in the United States Court and the case was tried, with able lawyers on each side. The captain of the Clotilda was kept out of the way and Meaher proved that he had been in and about Mobile all the time. The result was that he was acquitted. After everything had blown over the slaves were divided by Meaher among different persons in interest. Many of the negroes remain in the neighborhood of the river above Mobile, and there, in what is called "Afficky Town," they speak an African language which their neighbors do not understand. Parts of the hull and the copper of the Clotilda are still in the mud of the bayou.

8. The Alabama Platform. Meantime the negro, however contented at home, was becoming a bone of contention in the nation at large. The Northern feeling against the slaveholder went so far as to affect the churches, and not a few members opposed slaveholders having any official position. This resulted in breaking several of the denominations into northern and southern branches. The difference became acute from the time Harriet Beecher Stowe published her touching but untrue story of "Uncle Tom's Cabin." Clay's Compromise of 1850 soon became a dead letter. The situation gave rise to a new party called the Republican, whose platform was exclusion of

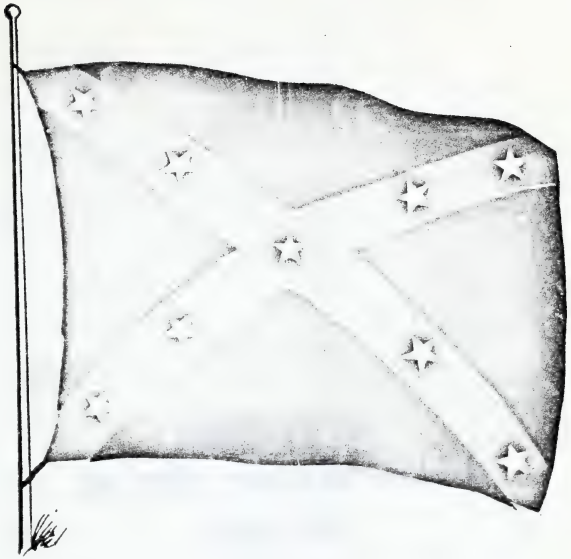
slavery from the territories common to all the states, and many of its leaders were opposed to slavery itself. The Abolitionists were members of this party, although not at first controlling. On the other side, there was developed in the South what was called the States Rights branch of the Democratic party, who were extremists in the South just as the Abolitionists were in the North. They were especially strong in South Carolina, and in 1851 they held a convention in Montgomery which looked forward to secession as a remedy. The great mass of people were not ready for such action, and the Whigs suffered most from the state of affairs. At the North many of them became Republicans, and those at the South hardly knew what to do. The Alabama Platform, as it was called, was definite, and seemed to gain favor as events in Kansas and elsewhere in the North and West showed the rapid growth of the Republicans.

The climax was reached in the fall of 1859 when the fanatic John Brown led a raid into Virginia with the object of freeing the slaves. He was shot by soldiers led by Col. R. E. Lee and his men hung by law, but the South could no longer feel safe from Abolitionist attacks.

9. Summary. The tension was as great at Mobile as anywhere else. Mobile under the American flag had passed far beyond what it had been under the French, British or Spanish. It was a city of between twenty and thirty thousand people instead of one or two thousand, and, instead of trade with scattered Indian tribes, it was the port for the cotton of the great Alabama-Tombigbee Basin, now settled by energetic Americans. The rapid changes of flags in the past make an interesting story, but this change of institutions had retarded the growth of the country. It was only in American times that it came to its own, and within this epoch several subdivisions can be

noted. Under the Territory it was a town of promise, but only when it became a city in the twenties did it begin to make much progress. This reached its zenith in the thirties, but, after the panic, came a time of depression. This had its good effect, for it made Mobilians imitate the East, and, instead of relying wholly upon the river, they built a great railroad of their own. The prosperous fifties were the result.

And now all was to be put in jeopardy by a Civil War.



BATTLE FLAG
OF THE SOUTHERN CONFEDERACY

PERIOD VII.
IN THE CONFEDERACY
1861-1865

AUTHORITIES

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CHAPTER XXXVIII.

SECESSION.

1. Election of Lincoln. The states below the Ohio and the Potomac had so much in common, both in blood and institutions, that they were generally known as the South. The foundation of all was Virginia, with some variations due to Maryland and Carolina; for even Georgia was largely Virginian. The principal institution common to them all was negro slavery. The slaves formed hardly a third of the population of the South, but in Alabama in 1860 were 435,080 as against 526,271 whites. They were in the homes as well as the fields, and were not only the laboring class, but formed as large a part of the wealth of the country as the land itself. The slaves were quiet and yet emotional, and no one could tell what might be the result of excitement among them. On the other hand, at the North the Abolitionists were active in preaching freedom for them and occasionally some Northerner was found in the South endeavoring to incite the negroes to insurrection. Abraham Lincoln was in favor of limiting slavery to the Southern States, but many of his followers went further, and the South believed that his election meant some form of abolition. Old party lines were therefore forgotten. The Democrats were themselves divided between two candidates, Breckinridge and Douglas, while conservative men united in a Union Party to put up Bell and Everett. The Union Party emblem of a little gold bell was picturesque and to be seen on watch chains everywhere. Breckinridge represented the extreme Southern view as to the right to carry slaves into the territories, while Douglas of Illinois advocated letting each territory decide for itself. Douglas visited Mobile during the

campaign and in an address at the court house told the people, that, while slavery must be safeguarded under the conditions at the South, it was not favored by modern civilization. "Gentlemen," he said, rising on his tip toes until he seemed almost a large man, "on this issue the world is against you." At about the same time Yancey made an address at the same place, and, hooting the idea of war by the North in case of secession, declared that he would undertake to drink all the blood that would be spilled. Excitement ran very high, but the division of the Democrats enabled the Rebublican ticket to obtain the majority of the electorial votes, although the majority of the actual voters were opposed to Lincoln.

2. *Preparation.* Lincoln's election created a protound impression, and at Mobile, as elsewhere, it was thought to mean great harm to the South. The legislature which met betore the presidential election had passed a law requiring the governor, in case of the election of a Republican, to call a convention to determine what the state should do. Governor Moore waited until the electoral votes were counted and then called an election for delegates. The campaign was exciting, but there was no difference of opinion as to secession. It was agreed upon as necessary; there was a difference merely as to whether Alabama should secede alone, or await the co-operation of other states.

Without waiting for secession, Gov. Moore directed Col. Todd of the first regiment to capture Forts Morgan and Gaines and the arsenal at Mount Vernon, and this was accomplished without bloodshed January 4, 1861. Todd led the Cadets to the forts, where the single sergeant could not resist, and Captain Gracie with the Washington Light Infantry and Captain Woodruff with the Rifles secured the military supplies at Mount Vernon. The

governor thereupon notified the Federal government that he had taken this step as a precaution; and it was a wise precaution, as South Carolina's experience at Fort Sumter showed.

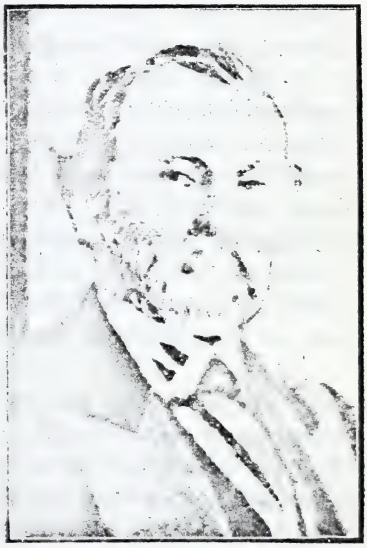
3. Secession. When the convention assembled January 7, 1861, it was found that those advocating immediate secession were in the majority. Mobile voted for co-operation, and her delegates were such men as E. S. Dargan, John Forsyth, John Bragg and Thomas H. Herndon. The convention met in the capitol at Montgomery and organized by electing as president William Brooks of Dallas County, the candidate of members who advocated separate secession. Nevertheless, the importance of harmony was fully realized, and ample opportunity was given for full discussion. Most of the addresses made were by co-operationists, but finally Yancey, the leader of the extremists, on January 11 closed the debate with a powerful speech. The vote, taken amid much excitement, was sixty to thirty in favor of immediate secession; and many of the minority changed their votes in order that the state might act as a unit, among them Jere Clemens of Madison, who made the famous exclamation "I walk with you into revolution." This action was taken in secret session. The streets outside were thronged with people from all over the state, and when the doors of the capitol were thrown open the house was filled with the cheering multitude. A great flag, with the coat of arms of the state, made by ladies of Montgomery, was suspended as if by magic behind the president's chair.

4. How the News was Received. The action of the convention was popular and there were rejoicings from the Tennessee Valley to the Gulf. It was generally thought that the disruption of the Union would not be resisted and that the Southern States would be able to take such

concerted action as they saw fit; but this was not the view of everyone, especially at Mobile. Many citizens doubted secession as a legal remedy, although no one questioned the right of revolution. In one Whig home on Government Street where the portrait of Daniel Webster had long held the place of honor in the library, it was marked as a coincidence, that, during the illuminations and rejoicings down town over secession, this picture fell and was crushed to atoms. But there was no doubt that secession was everywhere accepted as a fact, and preparations were made on that basis.

5. *Acts of the Republic of Alabama.* While the passage of the ordinance of secession was the critical action of the convention, other ordinances were adopted designed to cover the needs of the state, which had now become as it were an independent nation. Military affairs were reorganized, Thaddeus Sanford, the old Federal collector, continued as collector of customs at Mobile for the State of Alabama, and, to allay opposition in the West, it was declared that the navigation of the Mississippi River should be free to all states. On the other hand, no change was made in the postal arrangements, and the United States mails were carried throughout the South as usual for months after secession. After a while the postmasters at different towns, and notably at Mobile, issued local postage stamps for letters. Mobile issued two stamps, five cents and ten cents, which bore the same device,—a large star in the centre with a soldier and sailor on each side, the figure ten or five in the centre. The only difference was that the ten cent stamp was black and the five cent was blue. As these stamps were soon superseded by those of the Confederate government, they have become very rare. The governor was A. B. Moore, but he was succeeded by Thomas H. Watts, Alabama's "War governor."

6. The Confederacy. Even the advocates of independent secession had not intended Alabama to remain alone in that action. South Carolina had already seceded on December 20, and Mississippi was two days ahead of Alabama. Florida, Georgia and Louisiana also acted in January. Delegates from these states met at Montgomery and on February 4 organized a Provisional Government of the Confederate States, which was inaugurated five days later. The constitution was ratified by the state convention on March 4. After the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln and the surrender of Fort Sumter to the Confederates, the United States government called for 75,000 volunteers. This caused Virginia to secede on April 25, followed by Arkansas, North Carolina and Tennessee, and the Confederate government was moved to Richmond. The Confederate president, Jefferson Davis, also called for volunteers. The four years war was on.



JOHN FORSYTH

7. Fortifications. While there seemed little danger that Mobile would suffer from a land attack, its importance as a port led to its being carefully fortified in all directions by engineers Ledbetter and Von Scheliha. Fort Morgan was now held by a strong force, as was Fort Gaines, built within a few years by the United States government near

the site of old Port Dauphin. At different times afterwards other points were fortified, such as Fort Powell guarding Grant's Pass near Dauphine Island, and Batteries Gladden and McIntosh on little islands at the mouth of the river. These protected a double line ot piling which was driven across the mouths ot the rivers and was known as the "Obstructions," while in the channels which were left open here and at Mobile Point were placed torpedoes, a Confederate invention which wrought great havoc. The city itself was surrounded by three lines of earthworks. The first built was too far out to be held except by a larger force than was available, and so afterwards the lines were drawn closer in. The one closest in passed from the Bay at Frascati through the pine forest east of Ann Street until it rested on One Mile Creek. This left many residences outside the line, and later Maury thought it necessary to cut down the beautiful oaks and shrubbery on Spring Hill Avenue. All in all, Gen. Joseph E. Johnston pronounced Mobile the best fortified city in the Confederacy.

8. River Batteries. It had been a long time since the rivers had needed fortifications. The Federals were so persistent in attacking Confederate ports that it was thought Mobile might at some time fall, and to blockade the lower rivers in this event batteries were erected at Oven Bluff and Choctaw Bluff, possibly near old Maubila. There was no regular garrison maintained at these points, but they were ready tor occupation at any time. The lesson of the Tennessee Valley in 1862 was not lost, for after the fall of Fort Henry gunboats came up the Tennessee to Florence and after the battle of Shiloh Huntsville was occupied. The Tennessee Valley was held by Confederates and Federals alternately throughout the War, but the Alabama-Tombigbee Basin remained inviolate.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

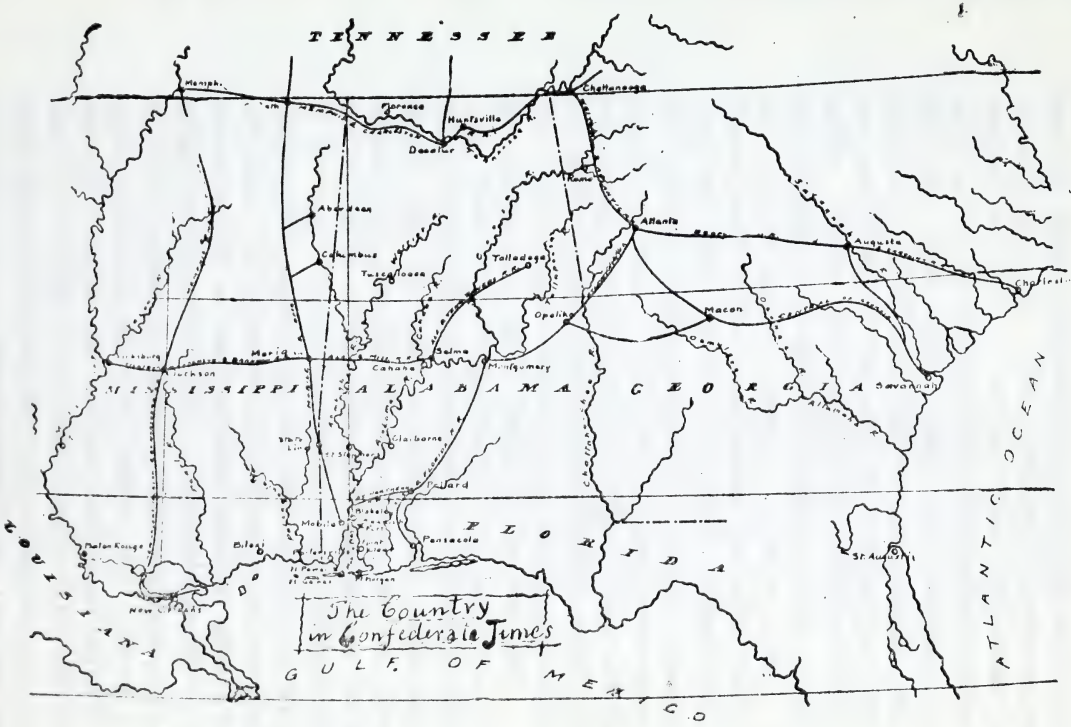
RUNNING THE BLOCKADE.

1. The Blockade. Some Southern statesman argued that the need of the world for cotton was so great that Great Britain and France would intervene in favor of the South. The cotton did become scarce in both those countries and there was strong sympathy for the South. This was increased when the United States undertook the enormous task of blockading the whole Southern seacoast. England did not intervene, but she announced that only an effective blockade would be recognized. The South had no navy. Every Southern captain had felt in honor bound to return his vessel to the United States before volunteering for the South. The result was that the United States had a good navy and were able from Northern ports to increase the number of ships, so that by the end of 1861 an effective blockade was established off most of the Southern ports.

2. Sending Out Cotton. At first British ships had taken cotton out by the thousands of bales, and goods were brought in return; but now the cotton came to Mobile and could only be stored. The production of cotton on the plantations became smaller as the men were drawn off in the war, and much of what was produced lay idle in warehouses in the country and in towns, because it could not be shipped abroad. Some was manufactured at home, but the principal means of credit of the Confederacy was cut off; for as she could not send cotton out, she could not buy arms and ammunition from Europe. Something was done across the line between Texas and Mexico, and in course of time some exchange was made between the two armies, but the cotton warehouses at Mobile remained full.

3. Havana. The history of Mobile had been connected with Cuba at the beginning of our story, and was now to be again. It was so long a voyage from Mobile to Liverpool and there were so many of the United States war vessels on the seas that it was found better for such ships as could get out of the harbor that they should run to a port in a neutral country, like Cuba, which was still Spanish. There they unloaded cotton and from there it was taken to Liverpool and elsewhere in English vessels, which could not be attacked. Nassau was the great port for the ships from the Atlantic cities, but Havana was the resort of those from Mobile and New Orleans. In 1862 New Orleans was captured by the United States navy under Farragut and Mobile became the chief Gulf port of the Confederacy. Agents were placed at Havana, who saw to the unloading of Southern cotton for Europe and the loading of goods destined for Mobile. There lived Confederate and Union officials, watching each other under the Spanish flag. The voyage from Mobile took about three days with the steamships then in use. The Federals had a great advantage, inasmuch as they remained in possession of Key West at the south end of Florida, only thirty miles from Havana; but by international law the power of any country extended three miles from shore, and if a Confederate vessel got within that limit the United States warships could not attack it.

4. The Blockade-Runners. The price of cotton was so high and the importance of bringing in arms and medicine so great that a new business came into being. The Confederate government sometimes sent out vessels to run the blockade, but generally this was done by private citizens, Confederate or English. It was necessary that the boat be swift and not easily seen, so that a special kind were built to run as fast as science knew, lying low



The Country in Confederate Times

near the water, and painted a gray color which could not be easily made out. Dark or stormy nights were generally selected to run in or out, and then, with smoke cut off, lights out and all openings closed, the blockade-runner would take her swift flight. Many were captured and the cotton or goods benefited the Northern instead of the Southern armies, but on the other hand many got through in safety. Among those plying from Mobile were the Alice, the Denbigh, and the Red Gauntlet, which carried from six to twelve hundred bales of cotton at a time. H. O. Brewer and Company were among the houses which owned their own ships, and A. J. Ingersoll, a descendant of the old Spanish Espejos, had much to do with the blockade running business. Not a few of these vessels were built in England, and the machinery almost always was English. One of the smaller class was the Heroine, which, after the War, was cut down and for a long time used as a Bay boat. She, like most of these vessels, had an iron hull.

5. *Sand Island Light House.* The general government had in order to aid the commerce of Mobile in the fifties built a brick lighthouse on Sand Island outside the mouth of the Bay. This was a massive structure, over a hundred feet high, with winding stair inside ascending to the lantern at the top. It could be seen for many miles by incoming and outgoing vessels, and was one of the best on the Southern coast. It lay between Fort Morgan and the blackading squadron and so was sometimes used by the blockaders to look over into Mobile Bay. It therefore had now become an injury instead of a help to Mobile's shipping, and plans were reluctantly made to destroy it. A party of men was sent over for that purpose, and placed powder at the foot of the light house, and retired. The explosion did little damage, however, and it was necessary to try again. An expedition was therefore organized, one of whom was

N. K. Ludlow, a ship engineer and son of the old theatre manager at Mobile. They made for the island in a sail boat, placed a large charge of powder where it would be most effective, fired the fuse, and about daylight sailed back for Ft. Morgan. In a little while the explosion occurred and was completely effective. It was a magnificent although a sad spectacle to see the product of so much time and labor fall with a crash; but from that time on it was impossible for the blockaders to see what was going on within the Bay.

6. A Woman's Story. Among the Northerners who had moved to Mobile and become a good Southerner was Dr. J. R. Burgett, pastor of the Government Street Presbyterian church. He had married a daughter of a ship agent at Mobile, but, although he had come to a warm climate, after a while his health was impaired and it was thought best for him to go to the coast of the Mediterranean. There was at the time a good deal of cotton to go out, but no regular blockade-runner to carry it, and so the Swan, one of the Bay boats, was turned into a blockade runner and loaded for a trip. The passengers consisted of the Burgetts and others who had business abroad, and one dark night the boat stole out of the Bay. It was sighted by the Federal fleet outside and chased, but was able to get away. Everything was then quiet for a day or two until near Key West a Federal war vessel bore down upon them. The passengers were promptly sent below, all steam got up, and every effort made to escape. The enemy was too fast, however, and gained upon them, and cannon shot over the bows showed what they might expect. The ladies in the cabin saw what was inevitable, and on their own account got a white sheet and waved it out of a port-hole towards the enemy; and this was taken as a surrender, and acted on. There was nothing else

to do, anyhow, and so the Federal vessel came alongside to take her prize. Among her officers was a young man who had known Dr. Burgett in Ohio. After the surrender the two boats ceased to be enemies and passengers received the kindest treatment. The Swan was condemned in the court at Key West and the cotton taken North for sale. The officers and passengers were made prisoners and taken to Key West, where every courtesy was shown them, and ultimately sent to New York.

CHAPTER XL.

1. City Government. Forms of government remained the same during the war as they had been in peace. R. H. Slough was mayor, and the offices of aldermen and common council men were held by citizens who did not go to the army. The police were active and city affairs were carried on as usual. Whatever Abolitionists might think, the negroes showed no interest in the war except interest in the master who went away and the mistress and children who were sadly lett behind. One new feature ot government grew up, and that was taking care ot the families of soldiers. A soldier's pay was only eleven dollars a month beside his food and clothing, and that in Confederate paper, and this could do little for his family at home. The city authorities, therefore, saw to it that soldier's families had everything at lowest prices and helped in every way they could. Goods were brought down the railroads and rivers at special prices to enable the city to take care of the poor, and public soup houses were opened in the city buildings on Church Street.

2. Military Headquarters. There were a number of departments in the military service. New troops were instructed about Mobile and veterans camped out on Hall's Mill Road, while the quartermaster's department was busy with food and clothing which was brought down the river and railroads. The military offices were kept in the granite Custom House whose great iron gates still bore the coat of arms of the United States, and there the different commanding officers transacted business. Commanders were changed from time to time and possibly the best known was General Dabney H. Maury. The congressman

from Mobile was E. S. Dargan, and, as he had sent his family up the country for greater safety, he was able to tender his place at the northeast corner of Ann and Dauphin Street to Maury as a residence. This became the social headquarters of the city and under the beautiful oaks on its spacious lawn were many gatherings. In this house was given a dinner to General Forrest after his remarkable raid and capture of Memphis, and the walls of the quaint old house, now a parsonage, could tell many tales of war and pleasure.

3. Courts. The Latin proverb says that law ceases in time of war, but at Mobile all the old state courts continued, although business was small. The laws were not different, for the state continued to be the same state that it had always been, and its principal industry, planting, remained much as heretofore. Many of the lawyers had gone into the war and their faces were not seen in the courts, but enough remained for such business as there was. The Confederate States passed a law seizing property of Northerners because they were enemies, and, this together with an occasional suit about a ship, gave employment to the Confederate District Court. The judge was William G. Jones, who had been appointed under the United States and was now continued in office. While the Federals held the Tennessee Valley one Richard Busteed was made Federal judge for Alabama, but his office was but a nominal one.

4. Doctors. But if there was little need for lawyers there was much for doctors, for besides the home needs there had to be surgeons in the vast armies at the front. There was much difficulty in securing medicines, since the supplies had formerly come from Europe and the North, and were now cut off. When a blockade runner got through and brought calomel and quinine it was a day of

rejoicing to the profession. The Medical College had no graduates after 1861, but its valuable collections were carefully preserved for better times. Ingenuity was increased by the lack of medicines, and many of the old remedies used by grandmothers and old mammies came again into active service.

5. Churches. Religion makes a special appeal in times of trouble and at Mobile the church services were well attended. The news from the front, even after a brilliant victory, was sad for many, and no family could tell what news the next mail might bring. After defeats there were days of public fasting and prayer and after victories thanksgiving was made in the churches also. The ministers of all faiths, Catholic and Protestant and Jew, had much to do in visiting the distressed at home, and the wounded in hospitals, and in services over the dead who were brought back. They also officiated in the camps near the city and chaplains for the different regiments would sometimes fill city pulpits, while on the other hand preachers would exchange their homes for service among the soldiers in the field. One who became a Mobilian was well known in this service and his mystic feeling and beautiful expression made Abram James Ryan dear to many before his

ABRAM J. RYAN

poetry had become famous. His "Conquered Banner" came later, but the feeling which underlies it was lived by him in camps, amid soldiers of every faith. News of the revivals among the Confederate troops in the field found its way back home and many mothers and fathers were cheered by knowing that their sons were receiving good in the distant camps.

6. Society. The poet tells us that man is a "pendulum 'twixt a smile and tear" and certain it is that the war times in Mobile were accompanied by much gaiety. The brothers were off in the army, but the girls were left behind, and others' brothers from other states filled their places as best they could. Little boys might have to chaperone their sisters to balls, but when they arrived the officers in gray uniforms and brass buttons relieved them of all further trouble. Dancing was the order of the day, and of the night, and with visits to the camps made up a round of pleasure. Many Louisiana and Missouri troops were camped at Mobile, and they became great favorities. A dear friend of to-day might be on the train for Virginia to-morrow, but dear he remained and the soldiers' life at the front was followed with all keener interest that they had been friends here at home. Public entertainments were less frequent than before the War, but many homes were open. One that may be mentioned was that of the famous Admiral, Raphael Semmes, at the northwest corner of Government and Wilkinson, whose family were favorites with all. At these parties there might not be a great deal to eat, but good company made up the lack, and this side of war time was long remembered.

7. Books. One would suppose that literature would be almost the first thing injured by the War, but in Mobile the contrary occurred. There had long been a complaint about school books that they were generally written in

the North and printed there and from a point of view which was not in sympathy with Southern life. After the War began it became difficult to get any books through the lines, and even Bibles had to be brought from England. So it is not strange that Madame Chaudron should take up the needed task of supplying school-books and write a set of readers, and she did more. The historical novels of Louisa Muhlbach were then coming out in Europe and Madame Chaudron translated from the German "Joseph II and His Court," and hers has ever since remained the standard translation. These books were published by S. H. Goetzel & Co. on Dauphin Street, and were widely used. Joseph II was published with back made of wall paper, for all kinds of paper were so scarce that this became common for books. A Southern writing paper was also manufactured, and extensively used. Military books were also needed, and it was at Mobile that Goetzel published Hardee's Infantry Tactics, in two small pocket volumes. This was adopted and universally used in the Confederate army.

8. Stores. If one walked along Dauphin Street he would see the same stores, but after the first year he would not find much to buy. There was much homespun, for that was manufactured at home, and groceries such as could be raised in the country adjacent. But silks and ribbons and luxuries, whether of food or raiment, were absent. When the Denbigh or the Red Gauntlet got in from Havana, however, with a cargo of European articles, business would liven up and for some weeks the stores would offer a much greater selection. Ladies continued their shopping, generally in carriages, for until the middle of the war horses remained numerous. But carriages themselves gradually came to look somewhat worn, like the hearts within them, although the manners were as cordial

and as courtly as of old. Tea and coffee practically disappeared, but it was found that the coffee weed supplied a passable substitute, and that sweet potatoes, sliced fine and parched, could hardly be told from coffee,—especially after one had not had any coffee in a year. Coffee sometimes got through the blockade, and sometimes was among the goods obtained from the "Yankees," as the Federals were called, in exchange for cotton. One time a blockade runner was beached near Fort Morgan, and a man found a sack of coffee on her, but, after getting it ashore, he left it in the marsh for fear he would be arrested for illegal trading with the enemy. Vegetables, of course, were plentiful, and many of the hands who were now kept from their farm work were used in the gardens. But prices were different as the War went on, for Confederate money gradually lost its purchasing power. Two hundred dollars for a barrel of flour and finally even for a pair of shoes, and twelve hundred dollars for a suit of clothes, were not unknown. Towards the end of the War, people said that a market basket was as much needed to carry the paper money down town as to bring back the articles which it would buy.

9. Supply Association. Much of the trade of Mobile has always been with New Orleans. This was cut off in 1862 and many people from there refugeed to Mobile. Not only did this diminish supplies, but the Federal force advanced and held the country as far as Pascagoula on the coast. After the siege of Vicksburg, operations of troops on both sides affected much of Mississippi, which through the Mobile and Ohio and its connections was the trade territory of Mobile. Prices became high and it was thought that part of this was due to speculators, who were accused of buying up goods and selling them to the people at a high price. During war time ordinary business

is affected and new plans are necessary to meet new conditions. Some public spirited citizens therefore got together and under the name of The Mobile Supply Association arranged to secure food and clothing from the adjacent country, and sell it to the citizens at the lowest price, after paying expenses. The secretary of the Association was Thomas A. Hamilton and the man in active charge of the store in the basement of Temperance Hall was James W. Holmes. Soon the country was bare and it became necessary to send agents up the Mobile & Ohio, the Montgomery Railroad, and up the rivers in search of supplies; for the Confederate army impressed everything that could be readily found. Agents of the Association went as far as East Tennessee, Charleston and even to Richmond, and shipped goods back to Mobile. The railroads were under military control, but every aid was given to the Association's good work. Corn, bacon and rice were the principal things obtained, but occasionally potatoes, cabbage and even turkeys and venison were shipped in, and through most of the War Mobile had perhaps the cheapest market for food supplies in the Confederacy.

10. News from the Front. Supplies now came down the river rather than went up to the plantations, for the country raised food for the city. In town business was much lessened after the blockade was established, but everything pertaining to war was much in evidence. There were camps, troops departing for the front, and drills and reviews in public places, such as Government Street. Many Mobilians were in the army and some in high office at the Confederate capital. John A. Campbell was assistant secretary of war, and Wm. C. Gorgas, who had married a daughter of Gov. Gayle, was chief of ordenance and so in charge of the iron works of Alabama as well as of Virginia.

News from the seat of war was much sought, for as time wore on there was hardly a family which did not supply a relative to the army, and whether a battle was fought in Virginia, on the Mississippi River, or in Tennessee, it would affect people in Mobile. The newspapers were full of reports, often of an encouraging nature, but every victory was purchased with lives dear to the families at home. Mail and telegraph were often interrupted, and, while promotions were quickly known, it was often weeks before friends could scan the lists of the killed and wounded. The newspaper offices were thronged with inquiries at the time of any battle, and the public rejoicing over victory was always tinged with private grief for the lost. Military music and military uniforms were everywhere on the streets, but every month there were more women dressed in black.

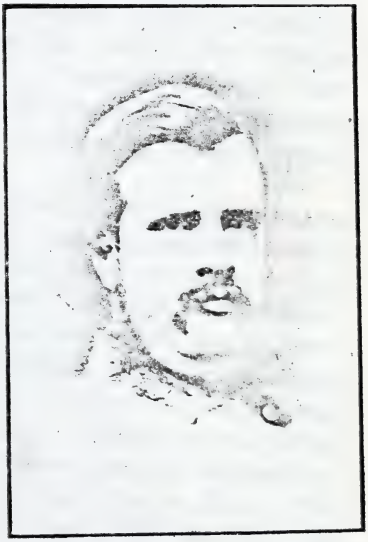
CHAPTER XLI.

MOBILE SOLDIERS.

1. The Course of the War. The Civil War was fought out in parts of the South which were not close to Mobile, and there was from the beginning an eastern and western army which operated far away from the Gulf. The former was under General Lee and fought in Virginia and over the border to the north as the Army of Northern Virginia. The latter was on the middle Mississippi and Cumberland Rivers and then about Chattanooga, at first under General Joseph E. Johnston and afterwards under Braxton Bragg, and was known as the Army of the Tennessee. There was for a time a separate army on the lower Mississippi, which got shut up in Vicksburg under Pemberton, and later a Trans-Mississippi Department under Kirby Smith and Dick Taylor, after the Federals by capturing Vicksburg had cut the Confederacy in two. Mobile was at all times exposed to naval attacks upon the forts at the mouth of the Bay, but the city was for a long time spared the danger of assault by land. The Federals obtained control of the northern part of the Mobile & Ohio Railroad early in the war, but except in raids they never came below Meridian. There was even less danger from the rivers and from the east, so that Mobile was able to send many of her men to the front in other states. To such an extent was this done that the garrisons at the mouth of the Bay and in camp near the city were not Mobilians, but troops who had come after the fall of New Orleans and Vicksburg. Mobilians fought in all armies except that beyond the Mississippi.

2. First Volunteer Regiment. The first regiment of Alabama Volunteer Corps was part of the militia organization in existence when the state seceded. It was made up

of Mobile companies. These were as follows: City Troop, Captain Wm. Cottrill; State Artillery, Captain W. H. Ketchum; German Fusiliers, Captain H. Steinberg; Mobile Cadets, Captain R. M. Sands; Washington Light Artillery, Captain Archibald Gracie; Independent Rifles, Captain A. Stikes; Mobile Rifles, Captain L. T. Woodruff; Gardes LaFayette, Captain A. Belloc; Gulf City Guards, Captain Wm. A. Buck; Alabama Light Dragoons, Captain Theodore O'Hara; and the Bienville Blues, Captain John Forsyth. The colonel was John B. Todd and the lieutenant colonel John R. Ketchum. When secession was imminent, Governor Moore ordered this regiment into state service January 3, 1861, and it was detachments from it that took possession of Mount Vernon Arsenal, Fort Morgan and Fort Gaines for the state of Alabama. Upon the foundation of the Confederate government different companies from this regiment went into the Confederate service. The Cadets, Gulf City Guards, Washington Light Infantry, and the Rifles entered the third Alabama at the same time.



ARCHIBALD GRACIE

3. Alabama Troops in the Civil War. The fall of Fort Sumter on April 13, 1861, was the beginning of the Civil War. President Lincoln called for seventy-five thousand Union troops, and this was the turning point with many

people in the South. Old Line Whigs who were not secessionists now saw a war of invasion, and all hesitation was at an end. President Davis on his side called for troops, and regiments were formed, officered and drilled all over the state. Most of these were enlisted for one year, as it was not thought that the war would be long. It proved otherwise, and, as the time ran out for the earlier commands, their men often re-enlisted in the later regiments. All told there were raised in Alabama sixty-three or sixty-five state regiments of infantry, besides twelve Confederate regiments, and a number of artillery and cavalry organizations, embracing upwards of a hundred thousand men. In almost every regiment were companies from different parts of the state, and Mobile in this way was represented on many battle fields.

4. First and Second Alabama. The First Alabama Regiment was organized at the beginning of 1861 and a Mobile company under Ben Lane Posey served with it in garrison at Pensacola and under Johnston in the West. The Second Alabama was a twelve month organization containing several Mobile companies. During that time they were on garrison duty at Fort Morgan and manned the heavy artillery there. Later they became parts of other regiments, and saw service in different parts of the country.

5. The Third and Twelfth Regiments in the East. The Third Alabama was organized in April, 1861, and was the first that went to Virginia from Alabama. It was for a while at Norfolk, and in the great battles around Richmond, and fought through to Appomattox, where only forty men were left to surrender. Jones M. Withers of Mobile was colonel, as Tennent Lomax and Charles Forsyth were afterwards, while Robert M. Sands was lieutenant-colonel. Among the Mobile captains, besides Sands, were John R. Simpson, Archibald Gracie (after-

wards a general and commemorated by a Mobile street), and Lewis T. Woodruff. No regiment in the War had a more glorious record.

The Twelfth Alabama also had Mobile companies, such as those of A. Stikes, A. Proskauer, and W. T. Walthall, while a lieutenant-colonel was Theodore O'Hara, already author of the beautiful poem "Bivouac of the Dead." This regiment served in Virginia, as at Malvern Hill under Rodes, at Chancellorsville, Gettsyburg, and later in Virginia under John B. Gordon. At Appomattox fifty were left to surrender.

6. Alabama Regiments in the West. Even more regiments served in the West. The Twenty-first Alabama was mustered in at Mobile in 1861, and after service nearby was in the Western Army. Almost one-third of its members were killed at Shiloh. It was later at Fort Morgan and at Fort Powell on the Bay where it suffered a fortnight bombardment from Grant's Pass from guns of longer range than the Confederates had. Many of its men were withdrawn from Fort Powell in time to escape capture by Farragut, although some surrendered under Colonel Anderson at Fort Gaines. James Crawford was the first colonel, A. J. Ingersoll lieutenant-colonel, and J. M. Williams, George Vidmer, John F. Jewett, Cary W. Butt and Murdock McInnis were among its officers.

The Twenty-second Alabama Regiment served at Shiloh, Chickamauga, and under Hood about Atlanta. The first colonel was Zach Deas, and among the later ones was Harry T. Toulmin. Several of the companies were from Clarke and other counties in Southern Alabama.

The Twenty-fourth Alabama, like the Twenty-second dating from 1861, also served in the west at Corinth, Chickamauga, in Tennessee and at last in the Carolinas. The first colonel was William A. Buck, and among the

captains were Starke H. Oliver, Alphonse Hurtel and John B. Hazard.

7. Regiments of 1862. The Thirty-second Alabama dates from 1862 and served in Mississippi, at Chickamauga and elsewhere under Alexander McKinstry as colonel and Harry Maury as lieutenant-colonel. Among the captains were Hinson H. Smith, Thomas S. Easton and Thomas S. Fry. This regiment was afterwards re-organized as the Fifty-eighth.

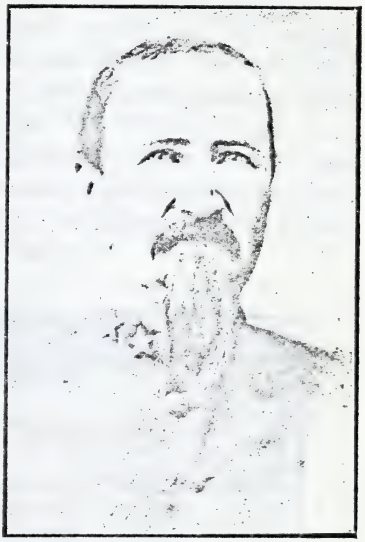
The Thirty-sixth was organized by Robert H. Smith in 1862, in part from his clients, and Thos. H. Herndon and Lewis T. Woodruff were lieutenant-colonels, and afterwards promoted. It served at Chickaumaga, Atlanta, Nashville and Spanish Fort, and surrendered with thin ranks at Meridian.

8. Later Regiments. The Thirty-eighth Alabama, organized in 1863, was also in the Western Army, where it served under Colonel Charles T. Ketchum. W. J. Hearin of Clarke County was a major, and Ben Lane Posey one of the captains. It was finally at Spanish Fort and elsewhere in the defense of Mobile, and surrendered at Meridian.

The Fortieth Alabama was organized also in the same year and under Colonel Higley served with General Braxton Bragg. Both the Forty-second and Forty-third had Mobile men and officers, and the Fifty-sixth was organized in 1863 and under William A. Boyles of Mobile acted with General Hood. The Sixty-fifth was made up from reserves in 1864 and under Colonel E. M. Underhill operated in Mississippi and Alabama towards the close of the war.

One of the most interesting organizations was the First Battalion of Alabama Cadets. Like the Cadets who fought for the University of Alabama, they illustrated how patriotism robbed both the cradle and the grave.

This battalion was made up of two companies of Mobile boys, the Pelham Cadets under Captain Price Williams, Jr., and the Maury Cadets under Captain Dick Roper. The former served on Dauphine Island, and, while some surrendered at Fort Gaines, others were successfully brought off. The Maury Cadets were in action at Spanish Fort and both commands retired with General Maury up the Mobile and Ohio Railroad.



JAMES HAGAN

9. Cavalry. The regiments above mentioned were of infantry, but Mobile was represented in the other arms also. Third Alabama Cavalry contained Mobile companies. Its colonel was James Hagan, and among the captains were Paul Ravesies. It operated in Tennessee, Kentucky and about Atlanta. Hagan became a dashing general. The Fifteenth Confederate Regiment was made up of South Alabama companies which had been for some time on the coast about Mobile and in Louisiana. Its colonel was Harry Maury, and among the captains were John H. Marshall, William Cottrill and Joseph E. Murrell. There were also commands engaged in scouting in Baldwin County after Pensacola had been abandoned by the Confederates. Some of these daring scouts entered Pensacola at will and obtained information of the enemy's movements.

10. Artillery. The fortifications about Mobile led to a large use of artillery, in which the garrisons took much interest and became very proficient. The first Alabama Battalion of Artillery was part of the original army of Alabama organized in February, 1861, and operated at Forts Morgan, Gaines and Powell against the blockaders. They had to surrender to Farragut finally, however, and the officers were imprisoned in Fort Warren, among them R. C. Forsyth. Captain Julian W. Whiting from Fort Morgan and Captain Price Williams, Jr., from Fort Gaines managed to make their escape and joined the army operating about Mobile. One of the Fort Morgan guns is now mounted in Duncan Place, Mobile.

CONFEDERATE CANNON

11. The Home Guard. After the younger men had been taken into the armies in the field and the old militia organization had been broken up, both the state and Confederacy encouraged the formation of Home Guards made up of men exempt by law from military duty. These were formed into companies, of whom some were even foreign subjects, such as the British. The Confederacy had none too much

of military stores, and there was difficulty sometimes in arming these reserves. Alexander McKinstry suggested that they be supplied with pikes, and accordingly old iron was beaten into blades which were fastened on the end of poles. Armed in this manner, the Home Guards were drilled and ready for any emergency. Among them might be found fathers of the boys in the regular army, prepared to defend their homes.

12. "*Soldier's Rest.*" Many troops that did not come from Mobile or even camp there long were represented in the hospitals, and were tended by the mothers and sisters of those who were far away in Virginia or in the Western Army. Incoming trains brought back not only the wounded to be nursed, but often, too, they brought the bodies of soldiers who had died in battles near the city, and the thought came to Mrs. P. J. Pillans as she was nursing in the hospital that the Confederate dead should lie together in some honored spot. She wrote a short note to John Forsyth suggesting a "Soldier's Rest," and he urged it in the Register. The plan struck a popular chord and the city in 1862 set aside a place in the southern part of Magnolia Cemetery and named it "Soldiers' Rest." Here were buried many who were sent home, and to this was transferred at different times soldiers who were killed in battle nearby. Many had to be marked "unknown," but Mobile soldiers also died unknown on distant fields, and the same tender care was taken of strangers who fell here in her defence. Decoration Day was not thought of until after the War, but the affection which inspired it showed itself in other ways during these long four years.

13. "*General*" *Semmes.* After the loss of the Alabama her commander was without a ship, for the Confederacy was not in condition to supply another. He returned to the South on a British vessel, landing near the mouth of the

Rio Grande, and came back to his family in Mobile after an absence of four years. He reported by wire to Richmond, but such was the condition of the war-swept country that it took him two weeks to reach the capital. After a short service as rear admiral in charge of the James River squadron, Richmond was evacuated and he destroyed his little fleet, turning the sailors into soldiers. Then while Richmond was burning and the Federals were entering the capital, he improvised a railroad train and escaped with his command to Danville. They then marched as a brigade of artillery to Greensboro, N. C., where they joined the command of Gen. Joseph E. Johnston. The war was practically over, and Semmes' force was included in the surrender of Johnston to Sherman at that place. As there had been a good deal of feeling against him for destroying the commerce of the United States, Semmes was careful to have himself described in the parole as Admiral as well as General, and, after the army broke up and he had reached his home, he found that his caution had been well exercised. He was arrested at Mobile in the fall and carried to Washington, where he was imprisoned in the Navy Yard and elsewhere. His parole saved him, and he was finally released, and came back to Mobile.

14. Braxton Bragg. One of the most distinguished soldiers of the Confederacy was Braxton Bragg, who succeeded A. S. Johnston at Shiloh, and was the hero of the victory of Chickamauga. He was a North Carolinian by birth, brother of Judge John Bragg of Mobile, and after the War was over was in Mobile in charge of the work of deepening the channel by means of jetties. During the War William H. Ross, Claude H. Mastin and other Alabamians were on his staff in different capacities, and many Mobile regiments served under Bragg at different times. He was buried in the "Soldiers' Rest" with military honors.

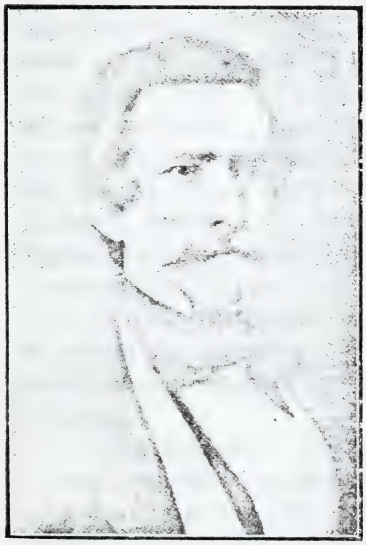
CHAPTER XLII.

MOBILE SAILORS.

1. Sea Power. In no other conflict has the influence of sea power been so fully shown as during the American Civil War. The Southerners who were in the American navy took their ships into Northern ports and surrendered their commissions before tendering their services to the Confederacy. The result was that the North had the whole of the old navy to begin with, and before the South developed a new navy her ports were all blockaded. Unless this could be changed, the result would be that the North could draw upon the whole world for men and supplies, while the South would be shut up to its own resources, and unable to ship its great staple, cotton. The efforts of Southern naval men, therefore, were directed to several ends. The first was running the blockade in and out, another was destroying the Northern commerce upon the high seas wherever it could be found, and still another was to build up an offensive navy which would break up the blockade and ultimately attack Northern ports. The first end was fairly well attained, but little was done to carry out the last. In the matter of destroying Northern commerce by cruisers, however, the South was quite successful. The Northern marine was driven from the ocean, and this was done largely by the Confederate cruisers Sumter, Alabama and Florida. The Florida was for a while in Mobile waters, while the Alabama was not, but the commander of the Alabama was a Mobile man, who lived here before and after his career at sea.

2. Raphael Semmes. A member of an old Baltimore family, Raphael Semmes moved further south and in 1841 was living on Perdido Bay. Shortly afterwards he made

Mobile his home, and then became secretary of the United States Light House Board. This took him to Washington, and he was there at the outbreak of the war. His sympathies, like those of most Marylanders, were with the South, and when the Confederate government was organized at Montgomery he promptly responded to its call. He resigned from the old navy, and, coming to Montgomery, was commissioned to look into naval matters for the Confederacy. He examined the Tredegar Works at Richmond and was gratified to find that they could furnish the Confederacy with guns and supplies. He went further North and was able to send workmen to the South.



RAPHAEL SEMMES

3. The Sumter. The first commissioned vessel of the Confederacy was the Sumter, which was armed and equipped at New Orleans under the direction of Semmes. At a favorable time he took his vessel down the river in broad daylight, and passed the Brooklyn, which was blockading the mouth of the river. The Sumter was not a large vessel and could not engage any of the great vessels of the Federal navy. Its mission was to destroy the commerce of the Northern states, and this it did for many adventurous months. Semmes crossed to the West India Islands and afterwards to Brazil, capturing vessels

as he went. As the North had blockaded the Southern harbors, it was impossible to carry his prizes into Confederate ports to be condemned and sold under the usual admiralty law, and therefore Semmes had to exercise the right of destroying the vessels and goods which he captured, except in some cases where they were released on bonds of their owners. The crews were taken prisoners and discharged at neutral ports. Interesting questions arose as to supplies for the Sumter. Since the Confederacy had been recognized by European powers as a belligerent, its vessels had the right to enter foreign ports and obtain limited supplies of coal and food. The Northern consuls and agents opposed this and hampered Semmes in every way possible, but he did during the Civil War what the great French Admiral, Suffren, did against the English in the East Indies centuries before. Cut off from any aid from home, Semmes, like Suffren, lived on the commerce of the enemy. The Sumter crossed the ocean, but found herself unable to obtain the necessary coal at Gibraltar, so that Semmes finally sold her in that port and with his crew went over to England.

4. *The Alabama.* Colin J. McRae of Mobile was one of the Confederate agents in Europe looking after the sale of cotton. He was very active, but the agent who saw to building and buying vessels for the Confederacy was James Bullock. Under the nose of the Federal ambassador C. F. Adams, he had built at Liverpool a vessel which had no other name than "No. 290" and was supposed to be destined for Italy. Finally in August, 1862, she went to sea on a trial trip—and never came back again. She slipped off to the Azores, where guns were put aboard, and Raphael Semmes took command as captain of the "Alabama." Her first blow was struck at the whale fishery and after destroying a number of vessels she sailed to the

West Indies. At Martinique she was blockaded by the Federal steamer San Jacinto, whom she finally escaped, and after a while reached her only Confederate port, Galveston. Near there she had an engagement with United States steamer Hatteras, which she sank, and then proceeded to Jamaica with her prisoners. The 30th parallel is called by Semmes the "Toll Gate Upon the Sea" from the number of vessels which pass to and fro, and near here and also off Brazil the Alabama made many prizes. Occasionally Semmes would commission one of these captured vessels as a new cruiser, and in this way the damage by the Alabama was much increased.

5. *The Alabama in the East.* Soon Semmes sailed across the ocean again and reached Cape Town. Here, as elsewhere in the British dominions, the Confederates were treated with great courtesy, for the private sympathy of the British as a rule was with the South. The government, however, aimed at strict neutrality. It was at this time that a prize ship was commissioned as the cruiser Tuscaloosa, and the Alabama continued her course to the Indian Ocean, capturing prizes and burning them as usual. Semmes had many interesting experiences and gathered a great deal of useful information, which he afterwards revealed in his famous book, "Memoirs of Service Afloat," published in Baltimore in 1869. The Alabama passed through the Strait of Sunda, visited the port of Singapore, and returned through the Mozambique Channel to the Cape of Good Hope in good time; for Semmes was able to secure the release of the Tuscaloosa, which had been seized by the British.

6. *Cherbourg.* The Alabama left on her return trip to Europe, capturing several vessels on the way, and arrived at Cherbourg in June, 1864. The United States cruiser Kearsarge was also in port, and the men of the vessels were

anxious for an engagement. This was informally arranged and the Kearsarge cruised outside the marine limit until the Alabama came out. A battle followed, well contested, in which the Alabama was sunk after doing considerable damage to her enemy. Semmes was saved from the water by the English yacht Deerhound and a number of his crew rescued by other boats. This led to a bitter controversy between the Federal government and the British, in which secretary Seward demanded the surrender of the rescued men on the ground that the United States was entitled to have its enemies drowned, and, if rescued, they should become prisoners. Lord John Russell, the British premier, refused to surrender the men, and sympathy for Semmes ran high. He was presented with a sword and flag by English admirers. This, however, was the end of his career on the ocean.

7. *The Florida.* In September, 1862, a celebrated vessel ran into Mobile and gave rise to other questions between the United States and Great Britain, which were only solved years afterwards. This was the Florida, which had been built in England, nominally for Italian owners, and went to Nassau in the Bahama Islands. There Confederate officers took charge of her, and, sailing the British flag, she ran through the blockaders into Mobile Bay. She was commanded by Captain John N. Maffitt, and lay for four months near Montrose. The delay was caused by her having yellow fever on board, brought from the West Indies. Her crew was filled up, and S. Graham Stone of Mobile went aboard a ssecond in command. After being commissioned, she became in all respects a part of the Confederate navy. She had not done any damage to the United States commerce before her entry into Mobile Bay, but, after running the blockade out in January, 1863, she commenced destroying

Northern vessels wherever she could find them, and was second only to the Alabama in the number she sank. In addition to this, the Florida armed and sent out some of her captured prizes, with separate crews, and they did almost as much damage as the Florida herself. She was one of the few Confederate vessels that actually sailed from a Confederate port, and much stress was laid upon this by England when arbitration of the matter was had at Geneva. The only way the Federals could capture the Florida was by attacking her when off guard in a neutral

THE FLORIDA

South American port, while her captain was ashore, and even then Stone was able to wrap her flag around his sword and throw them into the sea through a port-hole. There were many blockade-runners coming in and out, but the Florida was the only Confederate man of war that went to sea from Mobile.

8. The Bay Fleet. After the surrender of New Orleans, Mobile became the principal port of the Confederacy on the Gulf of Mexico. It was not only strongly defended by

forts on the land side and at the mouth of the Bay, but there was much local activity in naval matters. Expeditions were organized against Pensacola and New Orleans, and a squadron constructed for defence of the harbor, made up of river and Bay steamboats. It was not of the highest type, but it was the best that could be done, and promised to serve the purpose. Its three wooden gun-boats were called the Gaines, the Selma and the Morgan. Noah K. Ludlow, son of the theatre manager, had run on the Alabama River and Mail Line before the War and now, as Confederate engineer for this district, fitted up the Gaines and Morgan, and they were in service before the Tennessee came down the river. On them were a number of Mobile men, some who had never been in a naval engagement. Simon Klosky was there looking after the meals. An active officer was Thomas L. Harrison, executive officer on the Morgan. The Morgan was fortunate enough to escape serious injury in the battle, only one man being wounded, and after the surrender of the other vessels Harrison ran her through the enemy's fleet on a starlight night up to Mobile in safety,—the only vessel saved of the Confederate fleet. The Morgan and her officers were able to render good service in the subsequent operations about Spanish Fort and Blakely.

9. The Submarine Hunley. One new form of warfare took its origin in Mobile in 1863, when William A. Alexander and others superintended the construction of the first submarine boat, the Hunley, at Parks and Lyons iron works in the southern part of the city. It was tried successfully in the river and Bay. A crew of eight men managed her and she went down and came up as was planned. Attempts were made to attack the blockading vessels, but they remained too far out, and it was not here that she was to meet the enemy. The Hunley was shipped

ped by rail over to Charleston, where she had the misfortune to sink three times and drown her crew, but there were always new volunteres. Finally in 1864 she attacked the monitor Hoosatonic and she sank her enemy, but with her crew was herself sunk by the backing of the monitor. The foes were found after the close of the war close together at the bottom of the ocean off Charleston harbor.

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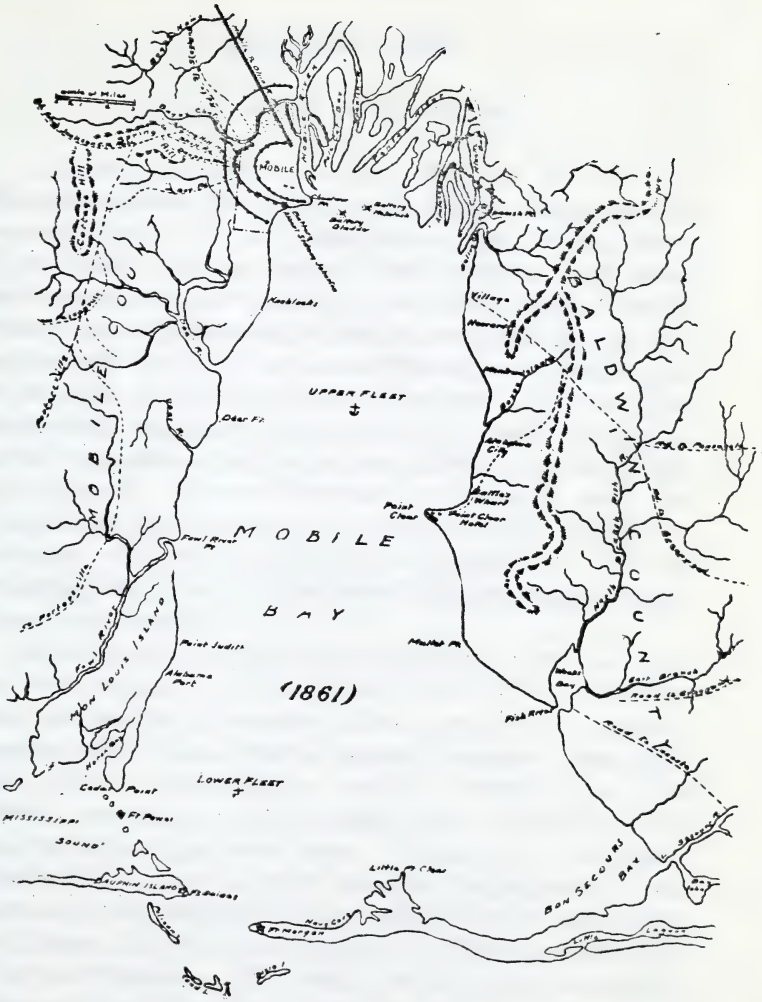

MOBILE
MOBILE BAY
(1861)
UPPER FLEET
LOWER FLEET
Dauphin Island
Mississippi Sound
Bon Secours Bay
Point Clear
Fort Morgan
Fort Powell

CHAPTER XLIII.

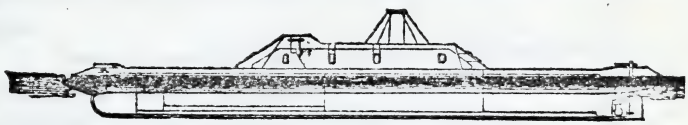
BATTLE OF MOBILE BAY.

1. *The Forts about Mobile.* After the loss of the Mississippi River the Alabama-Tombigbee Basin was the western district of the Confederacy, just as the James River Basin was the eastern, and between these limits was waged the second half of the Civil War. General Maury was in command at Mobile, and says that as long as the port could be kept open Mobile was as important in the west as Richmond was in the east. Through the blockading squadron cotton went out, and through it came in supplies which were invaluable to the army and to the people. Great efforts were put forth to retain the Confederate hold upon such a strategic point, and daring attempts were made from here to recapture or destroy shipping about New Orleans,—not the less creditable because unsuccessful.

The importance of Mobile led to keeping strong garrisons at Fort Morgan on Mobile Point and at Fort Gaines on the east end of Dauphine Island, and active scouting parties under Capt. Moore operated towards Pascagoula. The fall of New Orleans made it essential to hold Mobile, the more so as Pensacola, too, was occupied by the Federals at an early date. When the Confederates abandoned Pensacola, they took up the railroad which had run from Montgomery, and relaid its rails westwardly to Tensaw River on the line of the Mobile and Great Northern Railroad. The result of the abandonment of Pensacola was that large forces operated south of this road, and Blakely and other points on the eastern shore were fortified against the Federal attack. The defence of Mobile, therefore, was an extensive undertaking, the

more so as General Grant at one time planned marching there from Vicksburg, and Sherman did make a raid which inflicted much damage on the Mobile and Ohio Railroad. Neither of them, however, reached Mobile. The actual danger was from the sea.

2. Building the Tennessee. While war paralyzed agriculture and every other business, there was one thing which the South owes to the Civil War, and that was the development of the Mineral Belt. It had long been known, but except in taking coal little use had been made of it. A short railroad had been built northwardly from Selma, which had the ambitious name of Alabama and Tennessee Railroad, but it had not got very far before the war stopped it. The Confederate government, now took charge



THE TENNESSEE

not only of the coal mines but of the iron mines and mills also, and at Selma built arsenals and foundries which played a great part in the War. Oak and pine forests were also accessible and Ap. Catesby Jones made of the Selma works what the Tredegar works were at Richmond. It was at Selma the government hurried forward the building of the ram Tennessee in 1863 and 1864, and laid her keel while her other timbers were yet growing in the forests and the iron for her armor was still in the mines up the Cahaba valley. She was 209 feet long and 48 wide, and was never completed, but as soon as possible was towed down to Mobile to receive her five inch armor. This was fitted on a heavy pine and oak frame, slanting at an angle of 45

degrees. She carried two pivot rifled guns at the ends, and two in broadside on each side, and was finally thought to be in condition to meet the enemy daily expected at Fort Morgan. She now drew thirteen feet, and the Dog River Bar allowed but nine, and so it was necessary to sink wooden caissons or tanks and attach them to her, and, when they were pumped out, they raised her also and carried her over the bar. Then she hastened down to join the three gunboats which had been guarding the Bay. Of these the Morgan was the largest, and she carried only two seven-inch rifles and four thirty-two pounder guns. Admiral Buchanan, who had commanded the Virginia at Hampton Roads, was in charge of the Confederate squadron, and the Tennessee was his flag-ship. His whole force was four hundred and seventy men and twenty-two guns.

3. *Farragut and the Fort.* It was as important for the Federals to capture Mobile as it was for the Confederates to defend it, and Admiral Farragut had been able to get together for this purpose a squadron consisting of fourteen wooden steam vessels and four iron monitors, carrying in all twenty-seven hundred men and one hundred and ninety-nine guns. He waited outside the Bay until early one morning, when he thought the inflowing tide would turn the fuses of the torpedoes away from his boats, and then steamed in, his ships lashed two and two. The monitors were on the side towards Fort Morgan, the Tecumseh in the lead. Second in line came the Brooklyn with her mate, and next the flagship Hartford, with Farragut tied in the rigging. As the stately procession neared the fort, both sides began a murderous cannonade. Suddenly the Tecumseh lurched, and in a few seconds sank, struck by a torpedo. As the boat was going down, and men were struggling for their lives, the lieutenant and the captain

met at the narrow iron ladder. The lieutenant stepped aside, when Captain Craven said, "After you, Lieutenant,"—but after the Lieutenant came the inrushing waters, and Craven died at his post. A little boat had pushed out to save the few who did not go down with the Tecumseh, and the Confederates chivalrously refused to fire on them, despite the Union flag defiantly raised. The Brooklyn, with her torpedo protector, wavered and backed, confusing the whole column, and giving the gunners in the fort an opportunity of which they made good use. It was then Farragut from the rigging uttered his famous

CONFEDERATE RELICS

exclamation, "Damn the torpedoes, go ahead," pushed the Hartford to the front and restored order, and led the column amidst the galling fire into the Bay. One shell from bastion 5, fired by Capt. Whiting, exploded the boiler of the Oneida and killed or wounded forty men.

But the fort was now passed and the fleet was inside the Bay beyond range of the fort guns. The garrison could only watch what followed, and far away at Cedar Point people, among them a little boy named Dorlon, gazed on one of the great battles of history until the smoke obscured the scene.

4. A Naval Battle. The Federal fleet could fire over 9,000 pounds of shot at a broadside, Confederate 1,500 all told, and in the engagement which followed, one Confederate gunboat was sunk, another captured and another finally got away to Mobile. The ram seemed to seek shelter for repairs under the guns of the fort, but then, to the astonishment of friend and foe, the Tennessee boldly made straight up the Bay to attack the Federal squadron. Vessel after vessel rammed and fought her, but she held her own, unwavering, seeking the flagship Harttord, which, however, was too swift and kept out of her way. She engaged the whole fleet at once, in one of the most heroic naval combats of history, and did not desist until her plates were loosened, port shutters jammed, smoke stack carried away, many of the crew wounded, Admiral Buchanan disabled, and the steering apparatus shot away, so that she was as helpless as a log.

ADMIRAL BUCHANAN

5. The White Flag. There was no use fighting longer. The heat and smoke became unbearable and the guns could not be manned. The wounded Buchanan reluctantly gave the order to hoist the white flag, and soon a Federal officer came aboard to receive the surrender. All honor and courtesy was shown to the defeated, and Farragut,

after making arrangements with Fort Morgan, sent Buchanan and the wounded prisoners in a vessel around to Pensacola.

6. *Fort Gaines.* Troops landed on Dauphine Island had already driven the Confederates into Fort Gaines, which the next day was invested by land and sea. Farragut induced Col. Anderson to come out to the fleet and convinced him that resistance was useless and could only result in loss of lives, and so, without notice to Gen. Page at Fort Morgan, Fort Gaines, was surrendered with all its stores. The Pelham Cadets, Mobile's home guard of young men, had lately been sent down, and they were captured too with the regular garrison. Over 800 men

THE TENNESSEE AFTER THE BATTLE

and twenty-eight guns were the fruit of the surrender.

Fort Powell, guarding Grant's Pass, had been found untenable, and Colonel J. M. Williams the night before set a fuse and got all his men safely through the deep water to Cedar Point before the explosion which blew the fort to pieces

7. *Fort Morgan.* General Page was much mortified at the surrender of Fort Gaines, and had no intention of giving up. General Granger landed at Navy Cove with an overwhelming force of Federals, and after approaches, run gradually closer from day to day, by the 22nd Fort Morgan was as completely invested by army and navy as had been Fort Bowyer. Page had about 500 men

against 5,000, besides the whole fleet, most of whose vessels were now inside the Bay and so not within the range of the fort's heavy guns, which faced the Gulf. The discipline of the garrison continued perfect, and stood the test of an unbroken bombardment, whose thunders were heard at Mobile, thirty miles away. Many shells were thrown into the fort, the pine walls of the octagon citadel were fired, with increasing danger to the magazine, and at last the walls were breached in several places. Further defence was useless, and, after spending the night destroying everything possible, General Page surrendered. The Federals occupied the fort and sent the prisoners to New Orleans. Farragut's fleet now patrolled the Bay, and, except for the Obstructions, at the mouth of the river, Mobile was left defenceless from the sea.

CHAPTER XLIV.

THE END OF THE WAR.

1. *The Federal Advance.* Admiral Farragut did not venture to try to pass the Obstructions at the mouth of the Mobile River as he had those in the Mississippi, and Mobile was left unattacked for over a year. The Federals held Pascagoula to the southwest and Pensacola to the southeast, but attempted no advance far from their fleet. After the capture of Fort Morgan, however, Mobile was practically bottled up. The Federals devoted their attention to Sherman's March to the Sea, which cut off the Alabama-Tombigbee Basin from the east, and it was only in the Spring of 1865 that they proceeded against Mobile itself. The plan adopted was to advance from Pensacola with the view of reducing the forts on the Tensaw. This done, transports could go through the delta to Mobile River and to the city itself.

2. *Spanish Fort.* Most of the Confederate forces had been withdrawn to the East and only five thousand troops remained at Blakely on the Tensaw River and at Spanish Fort at the mouth of its branch, the Apalachee River. The forts could not be approached by water because of the torpedoes, and the attack planned by General Canby was therefore to throw his forty-five thousand troops from the land side on the two river forts, and to this end his whole army, including a column under General Steele from Pensacola, advanced towards Spanish Fort, commanded by Randall L. Gibson, afterwards senator from Louisiana. The actual fort which had come down from Galvez' time was the kernel of the Confederate defense, but earthen works extended north and south from it for many miles. On the right was Fort McDermott, in the centre Red

Fort, while a swamp protected the left. It was a long line for fifteen hundred men to defend, but they did so successfully for thirteen days. Even in war time men can be friendly, and the opposing riflemen in pits far in advance of the main lines came to exchange courtesies, such as gifts of tobacco, and even told each other yarns, and all without neglecting to keep their superiors posted as to the situation. The principal gun in Red Fort was an eight inch Columbiad, cast at Selma in 1863 and manned by Louisiana artillery men commanded by Slocum. This gun did terrific execution, and finished her war record by dismantling a whole fortification, and, while the sand bags were still removed for that shot, Federal gunners dismounted her and killed several men at their post by her side. The Lady Slocum still survives, and was for a long time on the green grass in the centre of lower Government Street. The fleet out in the Bay endeavored to get within range, and three vessels were blown up by torpedoes before it succeeded; but enough torpedoes were picked up by boats to make a passable channel, and war vessels were then able to fire upon the forts from the rear. The Federals also explored the swamp and finally found a passage through it. As this would cut him off from Blakely, Gibson abandoned his works and retired up the river.

3. Blakely. Blakely had once been an important city, but had lived to see its trade transferred to Mobile, and under its beautiful oaks hardly a hundred people lived in war times. There was deep water at its landing, and from there Mobile could be easily approached, and therefore it was defended by earthworks far out in the piney woods, garrisoned by three thousand men under General Liddell, with Cockrell as his second in command. It had been attacked by General Steele with thirteen thousand, but it successfully repulsed them. When Spanish

Fort was surrendered, it was reinforced by Gibson's little force, but this brought upon it the whole Federal army. The Federals gradually advanced their trenches, and finally on April 9th—the day on which General Lee surrendered in Virginia—the Confederate works were stormed and many prisoners taken. Part of the attacking force was made up of negroes, and they are said to have treated the prisoners with brutality. Nearby there had been two forts called Huger and Tracy on the banks of the Tensaw River, but they could not be held after the fall of Blakely; and so they were evacuated, and the garrisons passed over to Mobile.

4. The Surrender of Mobile. General Maury had been by means of telegraph in direction of affairs, but with the loss of Blakely and Spanish Fort found himself in command of only five thousand troops, while the Federals numbered ten times as many and were in complete control of the Bay and rivers. He accordingly on April 11th withdrew up the Mobile & Ohio to Meridian and left Mobile in charge of the civil authorities. The actual approach of the Federals was not from the river delta; General Granger and other officers came across the Bay in boats and landed at South End. After the Confederate troops had left there was much uneasiness in the city, as it was not known what action the Federals might take. Many citizens buried their silver and valuables for protection. When it was learned that the army had landed on the Bay shore, Mayor Slough and other citizens took carriages down the Shell Road on the twelfth of April, and, using a sheet as a flag of truce, met the Federals and surrendered the city.

5. Under the Military. It was a sad day when the citizens saw men in blue parading the streets, some of them negroes, but the best of order was preserved. General

Granger took possession ot the public buildings, and many of his officers and soldiers were quartered in warehouses and private residences. Little trouble was experienced and after a few days affairs settled down. Papers published during this time are very small in size and contain little news; for everything was under military control. Troops were encamped on vacant lands at Government and Hallett Streets, at the Barracks on Texas Street further south, and at other points in the suburbs, while guards with fixed bayonets walked up and down the streets in front of public buildings and all places where officers resided. The Confederate Capt. Moore captured two guards and made his escape, but fighting was ended. The Federal boats were at the wharves, troops were everywhere, and the cotton which the Confederates had left in the warehouses was seized.

6. *Maury's Retreat.* After General Maury dismantled the works at Mobile he retreated to the north with forty-five hundred men, including three field batteries, and on the march occurred the last engagement of the war,—a cavalry affair between the Federal advance posts and the Confederate rear-guard under Colonel Spence. All armed vessels and steamers were taken up the river by Commodore Farrand at the same time that Maury retreated and torpedoes were planted to stop the Federal fleet. This was part ot the movement which was to concentrate the Confederate forces of the South West at Meridian.

7. *General Dick Taylor.* The ranking officer in the South West was General Dick Taylor, son ot President Zachary Taylor. He had commanded the Trans-Mississippi department, and after the defeat of General Hood at Franklin succeeded him at Tupelo, Mississippi. Just as General Canby had been operating from the south, General Wilson had been leading a movement southward

from the Tennessee Valley, and had captured Selma and its foundries from General Forrest,—Forrest's first and last defeat. The surrender of Lee, and the Convention of Johnston and Sherman showed that the end of the war was at hand. Members of Congress and several Southern governors were with Taylor, and he now determined the course of events in the South West.

8. An Armistice. General E. R. S. Canby was in command of the Federals at Mobile, and, carrying out the request of Generals Johnston and Sherman, he and Taylor arranged a meeting a few miles up the railroad. Canby was escorted by a brigade with a military band, accompanied by many officers in full uniform; Taylor and one officer came down the road on a hand car propelled by two negroes. The two generals greeted each other cordially, and, retiring to a house, soon agreed upon a truce, after which all the officers partook of a bountiful luncheon together, when Taylor heard the popping of champagne corks for the first time in years. When the band struck up Hail Columbia, Canby ordered it changed to Dixie, but, to cement the reunion of the two sides, Taylor insisted that Hail Columbia be resumed.

9. Taylor's Surrender. After the capture of President Davis, Taylor was notified that the armistice must come to an end, as President Johnson, who had succeeded upon the death of Lincoln, had disavowed it. Taylor and Farrand on the one side met Canby and Admiral Thatcher on the other May 8, 1865, at Citronelle, and an honorable surrender was arranged. The Confederate officers kept their side-arms, mounted men retained their horses, which were private property, and all public stores and ordnance were turned over to the proper departments of the Federal army. Privates were paroled on rolls signed by their officers, and Taylor retained control

of the railways and steamboats in order to transport his troops home. On the Tombigbee River east of Meridian were thousands of bales of cotton belonging to the Confederacy, which had been guarded and were now turned over to the United States treasury agent. Gold of the Bank of Tennessee, which Governor Harris had kept intact, was with the army and was taken back to the Bank at Nashville. As Taylor was well acquainted with the country, Canby got him to direct the movement of the United States troops so that occupation would be effected to the best advantage and to the least annoyance of the people. They agreed also that Governor Clark of Mississippi and Governor Watts of Alabama, who were present, should summon their legislatures so as to repeal the ordinance of secession and to abolish slavery. Taylor remained at Meridian until all arrangements were carried out, and then came down to Mobile. Canby took him with his man Tom and two horses by boat over to New Orleans, where had been Taylor's home, and there he was able to arrange a surrender of the Trans-Mississippi department, except that some men preferred to retire to Mexico.

10. The Women and the Flag. The United States flag again waved over the whole country. The South had fought until it was absolutely exhausted and nowhere was there any thought of further resistance. The freeing of the slaves, which President Lincoln had decreed as a war measure, was accepted as a fact, and was legalized by amendment of the state and Federal constitutions. It was hard to give up the dream of independence, and it was harder for those who had lost friends in battle to be reconciled to conquest. Men were compelled to accept the situation, but the Mobile women still refused, and would have nothing to do with the Northern officers, many of whom were gentlemen in every sense of the word. It so happened

that on Government Street the military headquarters were in the middle house in the block between Hamilton and Lawrence, whose curved stairways went up to a gallery of the French style, while the naval headquarters were across the street in a handsome brick house occupied during the War by Admiral Buchanan. In front of each were sentinels and the Union flag floated over the sidewalk; but ladies going down town, on shopping or other errands, would not pass under it. Instead, when they reached the corner from either direction they would pick up their skirts and go out into the middle of the street, in sunshine or in rain, and, looking neither to the right or left, pass beyond the hated emblem. No insult was offered, but Federal officers made it perhaps harder than insult by laughing at them.

11. The Explosion. While General Maury had carried away all stores possible, on the surrender of General Dick Taylor at Meridian and other commanders in the South West, much of every kind, especially ammunition, fell into the hands of the Federals, and was brought by river and rail to Mobile and stored into cotton warehouses. The city in this way became one great arsenal. Suddenly on May 25th in the afternoon the city was shaken as by an earthquake. Warehouses were demolished, residences and public buildings injured all over town, and men and animals killed by the shock. Men and women fled for safety and for some time no one knew what had happened, except that those who had looked to the north had seen, as one boy recollects seeing, a vast column of fire and smoke ascending and branching out on all sides like a huge umbrella, surpassing any that ever hung over Vesuvius; and it then settled down as a pall upon the town. Military guards were at once placed around the centre of the disturbance. It was found that the ammunition stored

GUARD HOUSE

in Pomeroy's Warehouse on Beauregard near Water Street had exploded, and with such force that there was no trace left of the building,— all that represented the warehouse was a great hole in the ground. The killed who were not blown to atoms were buried, the wounded hurried to hospitals, but it was many days before the extent of the damage was found out. Almost a million dollars of property had been blown into nothing by the careless handling of shells by negro soldiers, who were unloading surrendered ammunition brought down the railroad. How many soldiers were killed, how much ammunition was destroyed, no one ever knew, for no one was left to tell how the accident occurred.

Such was the return of peace.

PERIOD VIII.

A MODERN PORT

AUTHORITIES.

Documents. Files of the Mobile Register and other newspapers; Records of the City of Mobile; Mobile City *Directories; Reports of the United States Engineers; Annual Reports* of the Mobile & Ohio Railroad Company.

Histories. Fleming, *War and Reconstruction in Alabama* (1905;) H. A. Herbert, *Reconstruction;* P. J. Hamilton, *The Reconstruction Era.*

Miscellaneous. Pamphlets issued by Mobile Board of Trade, Chamber of Commerce, Cotton Exchange, etc.

CHAPTER XLV.

RECONSTRUCTION.

1. The Outlook. With the close of the Civil War the Alabama-Tombigbee Basin entered upon a new epoch, one of an entirely different character from those known under the five flags of the past. It was in a sense the restoration of the American flag, but that flag now meant a different state of affairs from formerly. Under the French, British, Spanish and American flags there had been the same kind of growth. The whole region was agricultural, seeking its market by shipment from Mobile, to which the rivers brought the products of the interior, and from which ships took them to Europe. The Confederacy had marked a transition period, because of the blockade; but there was no real change in conditions. It is true that before the War the Mobile & Ohio Railroad had been built and some other railroads begun, but they were after all in aid of the traffic by rivers. The harbor offered difficulties on account of deposits caused by the rivers between the city and the mouth of the Bay; but competing ports were far away and lightering freight from the city to the lower fleet served all purposes of the time.

With the close of the War, however, conditions were changed. The United States were becoming unified to an extent undreamed of earlier, both in politics and in business. There were difficulties to be overcome in social life on account of the freeing of millions of slaves, and this was to be reflected in the work of the churches; but the most serious troubles were connected with the reorganization of state and the reorganization of industry,—with politics and with business. Mobile had adapted herself to five different flags and to changing business conditions in the

past. It was now to be seen whether, with the diminished population and resources due to the Civil War, she could adjust herself to the new situation.

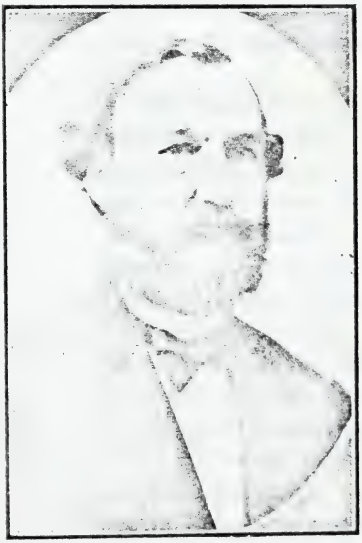
This is the study before us. The territory considered will be smaller, because we must confine ourselves more particularly to Mobile as a port, with only casual glances at the Alabama-Tombigbee Basin as a whole; but on the other hand, while the field is less in size, the study will be more intensive in character. We will take up politics first, and afterwards the changes caused by the increase of railroads and competition of other ports.

2. State Reconstruction. After the surrender of General Dick Taylor the South was under military rule. President Johnson appointed L. E. Parsons military governor of Alabama, and he assembled a convention to amend the constitution so as to restore the state "to its constitutional relations to the Federal government." At the election which followed Robert M. Patton became governor and the state ratified the Thirteenth Amendment, prohibiting slavery; but Congress was in opposition to the president and refused to recognize the new senators and representatives, among the latter C. C. Langdon. Under an Act of Congress of 1867, passed over the veto of the president, a new constitution was declared adopted giving votes to negroes, and the Republican William H. Smith was elected governor.

3. Carpet-Baggers and Scalawags. Adventurers from the North controlled affairs and were known as "Carpet-Baggers," from a word coined by Joseph Hodgson of Montgomery. Times were so much out of joint that some of the whites thought it better to join the Republicans and try and modify the conditions, but their motives were assailed and such men were given the name of "Scalawags." The legislature, composed of Carpet-Baggers, Scalawags

and twenty-six negroes, ratified the later amendments, and engaged in every kind of corrupt legislation. It was at this time that the state credit was loaned to corporations which never built the railroads for which the aid was granted. There came some improvement when the Democratic and Conservative party elected R. B. Lindsay governor in 1870, but the Republicans retained control of the senate.

4. *Two Legislatures.* The white people in 1872 made a desperate effort to regain full control of the state, and for governor nominated Thomas H. Herndon, of Mobile; but David P. Lewis, of the Tennessee Valley, was declared elected and the vote of the state then, as four years before, went to Ulysses S. Grant for president. A Democratic legislature met in the state capitol, and was recognized by Governor Patton, and then the court house legislature, composed of Republicans, was recognized by Governor Lewis; so that for a while there were two sets of laws. Much depended upon the attitude of the national government, for garrisons were at several points in the state. Peter Hamilton, of Mobile, was sent to Washington by the Democrats and made the best terms possible with the Federal attorney-general, and finally the two legislatures



THOS. H. HERNDON

met as one. Alexander McKinstry presided over the senate and D. C. Anderson, both of Mobile, over the house of representatives, so that the influence of Mobile in state politics at this time was very great.

5. The Kelley Riot. Meantime much had happened at Mobile. At the close of the War Mayor Slough was removed by the military and John Forsyth appointed in his stead. Upon the re-establishment of civil government, however, Jones M. Withers was elected mayor and acted until May 1867.

The Reconstruction legislation had just been passed and Northern agitators came from time to time to influence the negroes. One of these was Judge W. D. Kelley of Pennsylvania, who addressed a crowd, mainly of armed negroes, in front of the court house on May 14. He was using incendiary language, stating that he would be protected by the Fifteenth Infantry then at Mobile, when a pistol was discharged and a runaway wagon stampeded the assembly. Kelley himself left precipitately and took refuge in the Battle House, called for the military and had himself guarded. Meantime the negroes went about the streets firing pistols and at least one white man was killed. Kelley chartered a boat as soon as possible and went

over to Tensaw and took the train for Montgomery. Citizens at Mobile held a meeting and passed resolutions proposed by McKinstry regretting the disturbance, and showing that there was no hostility to Northerners or negroes.

This riot was commented on all over the country, and Gen. Swayne, by Gen. Pope's command, removed Mayor Withers from office, appointing Gustavus Horton instead.

6. Reconstruction at Mobile. In 1869 Caleb Price was elected mayor, but, although interference ceased on the part of the military, the charter had been amended to permit removal by the governor. This occurred in 1870, when George F. Harrington was appointed by Governor Lewis. It was during this year that occurred the worst municipal scandals, and the credit of the city, like that of the state before it, was pledged for railroads which were never built.

GUSTAVUS HORTON

7. The Wharves. Part of the corruption of the day was connected with obtaining for the city the river front. It will be remembered that although Mobile had been French and Spanish, and therefore subject to the Civil Law, even the Spaniards had granted out the front of the city from Royal Street east to the river to different individuals. These had always claimed the shore and had from time to time improved it by building wharves or bulkheads.

The United States had attempted in 1824 to vest the city with the ownership of the bank of the river, but the courts decided that the United States had nothing to grant. Now after the War, when it was so necessary to rebuild the city's commerce, there was much complaint of wharf charges, and the city authorities obtained from the legislature January 31, 1869, the short but famous act which vested in the city the rights of the state. The theory was that if the shore was not the United States' property, it was that of the state, and should be passed on to the city for the public good. In consequence the city threatened suits against Moses Waring and others, who had built up and used the river front, but they successfully prevented the attempt by proceedings in the Federal court. The suit was finally compromised in 1870 by the city's buying the wharves from the owners and in order to do this it issued three hundred and sixty thousand dollars of bonds. In this way the city came into possession of a third of a mile of the river front and was enabled to fix wharf charges.

8. Negroes. Even during the War negro refugees had been aided by the Federal government, and what was called the Freedmen's Bureau was set up for their relief. The object was not merely to help them, but to make them useful citizens. As the negroes were now free, their old masters had no control and could only hire them by contracts supervised by the Freedmen's Bureau. As carried on, the Bureau became a political affair and was used by adventurers to help themselves. The negroes became independent of the Southern churches, and received attention from those at the North. Two branches of the Methodist Church, called the African Methodist Episcopal and the African Methodist Zion Churches, were organized throughout the South, and became strong

also at Mobile. The Little Zion was moved to Church and Bayou Streets, and all the churches became affiliated with one or the other of these two bodies or with the Northern Baptists. The tendency in religion as in politics, therefore, was for the race to become completely independent.

9. *Social Life.* The Civil War had been connected with the negro in its origin and results. He had been elevated from slavery to citizenship on the political side, and on the religious side was now coming to have control of his own churches. These two results had been quickly reached, for they could be effected by regulation. There were two other elements connected with civilization whose solution would require more time. The one was as to his industrial future. At first the negro abandoned work, and sometimes left the country for town. Here he all but starved, and conditions did not right themselves for some time. The remaining unsettled matter was as to family relations. The Abolitionists had always urged the equality of the negro and the white race and their enthusiasm led them to break down all barriers. They preached intermarriage and the negro leader, Fred Douglass, married a white woman, and thus set a practical example before his race in the South. The white race, however, would have none of this, and set their faces against any social mingling of whites and blacks. Social equality, as it was called, was refused, and no amount of legislation or persecution could effect it. Attempts were made by Federal laws to compel the opening of hotels, theatres and public places to whites and blacks alike, but such regulations were all evaded and finally repealed or became a dead letter. The whites maintained their own social unity and the negroes gradually learned to develop their own.

10. Negro Officials. The Carpet-Baggers did not favor having negroes in important offices, but permitted them to become postmen and hold other subordinate positions. Some negroes became political leaders, one of them being Allen Alexander, who is said to have broken an umbrella over a white collector of customs in a political difference on the Custom House stairs. Another was a black man named Alfred, who had been a carriage driver for D. W. Goodman, and several of the preachers became leading politicians. The mulattoes were specially prominent. There was one famous exception to the Republican rule in Charles Archie Johnson, a one-legged newspaper vender and an ardent Democrat. His beat was Royal Street, where he cried out the *Register and Times-Democrat* with great gusto. He was put up to following some of the Republicans and making fun of them, in consequence of which they attempted to banish him; but without success.

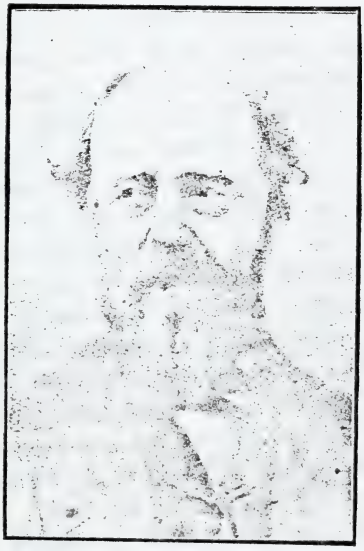
11. Negro Education. At the close of the War there was little difference of opinion as to the education of the negroes. The missionaries of the Northern churches desired it, the Freedmen's Bureau took it in hand, and the Southerners, both in state and church, thought it would improve the race, although the use of the Medical College for that purpose was opposed. Schools were opened, attended by old and young negroes, and in some cases native whites were teachers. With the coming of Reconstruction, however, the situation was changed. Northern teachers came, full of crusading zeal against Southern institutions, and Republicans used the educational offices to make money. One of the changes of Reconstruction was the creation of a State Board of Education, of which N. B. Cloud was superintendent. He wished to subject the Mobile school system to his control, and appointed G. L. Putnam superintendent. Putnam was principal of a school called

Emerson Institute, which the American Missionary Association had started for the negroes in Norman Pinney's old school building, "The Blue College," and sought to have the Institute obtain part of the school funds; but he was not recognized by the School Board. He obtained several thousand dollars of the funds by virtue of his office and the matter was taken into the courts by the School Board in 1869. The Supreme Court, through Justice Peters, a Republican, decided that the Mobile School system had not been changed by legislation, and sustained the School Board. The result was that the different negro schools had to sustain themselves, but the School Board established negro public schools under their own control the next year. Colonel Joseph Hodgson became state superintendent in 1870 and did much to improve education, but was in office only two years, and was succeeded by a Republican. The State Board of Education was abolished by the Constitution of 1875, but the Mobile School Board has continued its useful career until now.

12. The Courts. No public officials come in closer contact with the life of a community than judges, and Mobile was unfortunate in those whom Reconstruction put upon the bench, state and Federal. The most famous of these was Richard Busteed, an Irishman, who was once a Methodist preacher and afterwards a Federal soldier for a short time. His position of district judge for Alabama was nominal except when the Federals were in control of the north part of the state, but after the War he took the place held up to then by William G. Jones. Busteed was a prominent figure in cotton and other cases at Mobile and elsewhere. He decided that the test oath for lawyers was unconstitutional, but his other acts were much criticized. He was arbitrary in court and after the bar had suffered a long time impeachment proceedings were brought

against him by Robert H. Smith. The matter was compromised by the resignation of Busteed in 1874, when he returned to New York.

13. The New Militia. As all the active Confederates were distranchised, and Federal soldiers and Republicans controlled the machinery of election, it looked as if there could be no remedy in political affairs and the old citizens must migrate or turn their attention to something else than politics. After the surrender no armed organizations were permitted to exist, but gradually the soldiers got together for social purposes, and the younger men called themselves after the old military companies. The Cadets, Rifles, Light Infantry, German Fusiliers, and Artillery came into existence again from 1868, and, as soon as the Federal authorities permitted, were recognized as state troops, with regular officers. The first Regiment of Alabama State Troops organized with J. H. Higley as colonel. They were able to do good service, for, as the Federal soldiers were confined to the Barracks and were finally withdrawn, there was sometimes need for the new military. There was an annual encampment at Frascati on the Bay shore, and later the Rifles and Lomax Rifles became famous for their drills. The Rifles acquired a national



T. L. WOODRUFF

reputation by their victories at Nashville and Dubuque, and even by their defeat at Houston.

14. The National Cemetery. Burials in the Old Graveyard became fewer as it filled up, and what was now called Magnolia Cemetery became the favorite burying ground. In the year 1866 the city of Mobile donated three acres of land in Magnolia for use as a national cemetery, and the gift was courteously acknowledged by General George H. Thomas on behalf of the government. The Federal dead were removed to this place from Blakely and other points near Mobile, trees and flowers were planted, and a keeper's house erected. In 1894 a strip of land was donated by the city which extended the cemetery to Virginia Street, and in this division were afterwards re-interred the remains of Jackson's soldiers, who had been buried near Fort Jackson,—Bienville's old Fort Toulouse. The "Confederate Rest" was but a short distance away, but there was no government to take care of it.

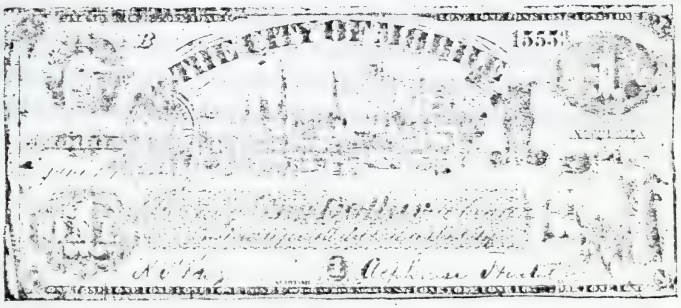
15. Memorial Association. During the War the women of Mobile had inspired the soldiers as they went forth, nursed them when brought back wounded, and consecrated their memories when dead. After the close of the War, therefore, it was not unnatural that the women should form an association to care for the graves in the "Confederate Rest." Mrs. Ann T. Hunter led in this and the Confederate Memorial Association was formed. Its work was of two kinds. In the first place, the women would gather together and make cedar wreaths, and on Memorial Day, April 26, after salute by the military and an appropriate address by an orator of the day, they placed the wreaths upon all Confederate graves, whether named or marked unknown. Many famous men have delivered these addresses, and amongst them Dr. Ben M. Palmer. A more lasting part of the Association's work was beautifying the

"Confederate Rest." Headstones were set at each grave, marked with the soldier's name if known, and an appropriate monument surmounted by a statue was erected in the centre of the ground. It represents a private soldier at parade rest and the sculptor's model was John H. Higley.

16. Mardi Gras. During the worst of the Reconstruction days the old feeling which had organized the Cowbellians came back again. The Strikers and T. D. S., dating from before the War, kept up their New Year's parade at the same time as the Cowbellians; but the members were getting old, and the younger men preferred to organize themselves into new societies and parade at Mardi Gras. The Order of Myths came into being in 1867, and the Infant Mystics two years later, rivals who by their historical or fancy pageants have added much to the pleasure and instruction of the public. The transfer of these turnouts to the pleasanter season reacted upon the older societies, and these after a joint parade on New Years Eve of 1881 ceased to appear. The older in this way handed on the torch to the younger and kept up the mystic continuity Mobile can boast of being the Mother of Mystics.

17. The Ku Klux. The Anglo-Saxons love local self-government and their genuis for politics led them to plan to regain control of public affairs indirectly where they could not act directly. So a plan was devised to influence the negroes by playing on their superstition. It is said to have originated with General Forrest in Tennessee, where a social circle (Kuklos) called themselves the Ku Klux Klan. About New Orleans and Mobile a similar society was called the Knights of the White Camelia. The object was to keep the negroes away from the polls at elections, and the old system of patrol, both in county and town, was used to carry out the scheme. At night a party of ghostly

looking riders would go about, visit the negro cabins and frighten the family, and warn the men that if they voted something dreadful would happen. On Government Street a tall white figure would stop an alarmed negro and ask him to hold the ghost's skull while he adjusted a backbone, and such practical use of Hallowe'en methods kept the blacks away from the polls. Even the efforts of the Republican leaders to enroll them in the Loyal League could no longer avail. Carpet-Baggers also received written notices or saw them in the papers. There is no doubt that violence was sometimes used, and congress



CITY MONEY

took up the matter in a series of investgations, and passed laws under which the Ku Klux were prosecuted and finally broken up.

18. A Political Revolution. Unity of feeling and action had nevertheless been secured among the whites. The old names of Whig and Democrat had disappeared from use and all combined in what was called the Democratic and Conservative party, pledged to redeem the state from misrule. They almost succeeded in 1872, and the whole state was finally carried by the Democrats in 1874 for

George S. Houston as governor. At Mobile, O. J. Semmes, son of the admiral, became judge of the city court, Harry T. Toulmin judge of the circuit court, and Price Williams, Jr., judge of the probate court, and at the city election John Reid was elected mayor, although the old mayor, C. F. Moulton, managed to hold over by means of litigation. This was remedied, however, at the next election, when Alphonse Hurtel was chosen, and he discharged the duties of the office until his death. During this time the city found it necessary to issue paper money in several denominations and for a time its fractional currency was in good circulation. George G. Duffee became mayor in 1877. Much was remedied in this interval, much was found past remedying. Money had been squandered and debts had been assumed for railroads, and the load now became heaviest just when Mobile looked out on new economic conditions.

CHAPTER XLVI.

THE RAILROAD ERA.

1. The Commercial Outlook. When the War was over and the people returned to the pursuits of peace, they found that in industry as well as in politics they were in a different world from that of 1860. The drift to the towns was now marked and the towns themselves were different. Not only had the Eastern cities become much larger, but the Western towns of Cincinnati, Louisville, St. Louis and Chicago had become great cities. A new place named Birmingham was begun in 1871, and its district promised to grow and make Alabama a unit by developing the mineral region, which had so long separated the state into two different river basins. Mobile, in particular, had to face new conditions. The interior was growing more rapidly than the ports, and of the ports only those developed which the railroads favored, and they did not favor those where bulk had to be broken in order to lighter freight down to deep water. There was working out a commercial reconstruction as momentous as the political reconstruction of the past. As quickness of transportation is the index to progress, any change must show itself first in the railroads.

2. The Mobile and Ohio. During the Civil War the railroads had been operated by the Confederate government, although still owned by the old companies, and at the end of the struggle they were in a deplorable condition. Few repairs had been made, and everything was run down. The rolling stock, moreover, was captured property in the hands of the Federals, and the roadbed, where not torn up, was in bad order, and the rails and cross-ties worn out. Mobile was especially interested in the Mobile & Ohio

Railroad, and the officers of this company early set to work to get system out of chaos. Much of the rolling stock was at Nashville and Memphis, but an order was secured from President Johnson for its return to the company, and gradually Major L. J. Fleming got things in running order, and the road regained much of its old business. Debts had been held off by the War, but now the creditors in England and in the North began to urge their claims. This prevented any great increase of the railroad's business, and resulted in the seventies in arrangement by which new securities were issued in place of the old ones, and the creditors came in control of the railroad itself.

3. Railroad Aid. What was true of the Mobile & Ohio was true of all the Southern railroads, for they were going through a period of transformation. The result was not merely having new men coming into control, as with the Mobile & Ohio, but many of the Southern roads were closed out under mortgages and the absolute ownership passed into the hands of Northern capitalists. The Civil War had brought only disaster to the South, but it had been the means of making many a fortune at the North. The railroad system there had been greatly advanced, and, instead of short roads, the necessity of moving troops and crops had caused the development of great systems, such as the Pennsylvania and Erie. The same plan was now introduced by capitalists in the South, and with the desire to rebuild the country Southerners plunged into railroad building in all directions. Laws were passed in Alabama authorizing cities and counties to aid new railroads, and the state itself gave money to railroads at so much a mile completed. The origin of this legislation goes back of the War, but it was now carried to extremes. Some good enterprises were aided in this way, but many fraudulent ones were started, which never built the roads but did enrich the promoters.

In order to do its part, the state of Alabama issued bonds to the amount of about five million dollars, and the city of Mobile also became heavily involved for roads built or planned to the east, south and northwest, which would make Mobile the Gulf terminus for many systems.

4. *New Orleans, Mobile & Chattanooga Railroad.* The enterprise which attracted most attention was one to connect Mobile with New Orleans. Its advocates told how much both cities would be benefited, and cotton brought to Mobile, while its opponents said that the business at Mobile would be taken by the road to the larger port. The promoters secured a charter from the state of Alabama, and secretly took possession by force of the river front south of Government Street, drove piles and ran a railroad where had been slips and wharves east of Commerce Street. Railroad shops were built at the foot of Charleston Street and city bonds issued for them as a public improvement. The company made several mortgages and was re-organized under the name of New Orleans, Mobile & Texas Railroad Company; in point of fact, however, it never built either to Texas or to Chattanooga, and remained essentially a railroad from Mobile to New Orleans. It was expensive on account of having to bridge many bayous and shallow bays, and, although it developed the coast and a large traffic between the two cities, it was hardly a paying venture. One result was that its competition drove the boats out of business, and the old Mail Line wharf at the foot of Conti Street fell into decay.

5. *The Mobile & Montgomery Railroad.* Not long before the War a railroad had been built from Montgomery to Pensacola, but, as it had to compete with the Alabama River business, it was not very flourishing, and after a while much of its business was diverted to Mobile by the Great Northern, which was built from the Tensaw River to join

this Montgomery road. William D. Dunn, of Mobile, was one of the leading spirits in this enterprise. While it was planned to build across the delta direct into Mobile and terminals were secured about Beauregard Street, the bridges were not built until the seventies. Until then connection was made with Mobile by steamboat to a point above Blakeley, and the Mobile & Montgomery soon became an important link in the Mobile railroad system.

6. Alabama Grand Trunk Railroad. The Mobile & Ohio had been originally planned in order to reach the cotton of the South and the grain of the West, but with the development of the Mineral Belt of Alabama during the War a new ideal appeared for railroads. The improvement of the Warrior and Cahaba Rivers sufficiently to open up that country seemed a long way off, and during the railroad fever Francis B. Clark, who had long been prominent in the Mobile & Ohio, directed attention to a plan for a grand trunk line from the Mineral Region to the natural seaport for coal and iron at Mobile. After agitation through the press and otherwise, the city issued bonds to about $100,000. A depot was built on Beauregard Street west of the Mobile & Ohio depot. The road was surveyed the whole way up to Elyton in Jefferson County, in the heart of the Mineral Region, but not enough money was raised to build the bridge or much of the roadbed beyond the Tombigbee River. Daily trains were run from Mobile up to the Bigbee, and for a while the enterprise promised well.

7. The Mobile & Northwestern Railroad. Among the new men at Mobile after the Civil War was Colonel William D. Mann, and he originated the scheme of a road to run northwestwardly towards Little Rock, crossing the Mississippi River at Helena. Charter and rights of way were secured and the city aided by bonds to the extent of one hundred and fifty-one thousand dollars. The roadway

ran out Congress Street, the western part of which as now used was opened by the tracks of the company, which were laid for some distance beyond Spring Hill. A beginning was also made at the Mississippi River end, where more of the road was built than about Mobile.

8. The Panic of 1873. Mobile like other American cities had in the past suffered from financial troubles originating in the money centres, and now her return to the Union was signalized by another panic. The business expansion which followed the close of the War had been general throughout the country. Railroad building and other public enterprises had been overdone, and a reaction followed beginning at Philadelphia on Black Friday, 1873. Banks were affected throughout the whole Union, and all enterprises, especially railroads, which depended upon obtaining money in New York came to a halt. The Mobile & Ohio passed into the hands of its Northern bondholders, and the same was true of the Mobile, New Orleans & Texas, and the Mobile & Montgomery was reorganized with much the same result, and the Grand Trunk and Northwestern soon came to an end. It was easier and cheaper to ship cotton to New Orleans or an Atlantic port than to break bulk and lighter it down the Bay to ships lying there in deep water. The inconvenience which had made no difference before War became a burden now in the face of cheaper rates by railroads to other ports. Many business houses failed and there began an exodus of young men to New Orleans, Memphis, Texas and other places to seek the living which was becoming more and more difficult at home. It was this which made the Panic of 1873 and its results different from all before, for losing so many young men sapped much of the energy of the city. The yellow fever epidemics of the seventies had the same effect. The railroads all but annihilated the harbor.

9. Louisville & Nashville Railroad. The age of short railroads had passed, and that of great systems had come. In length the Mobile & Ohio remained one of the greatest railroads in the South, but its importance was eclipsed by other lines. The one that affected the Mobile territory was the Louisville & Nashville, which gradually got control of railroads leading southward, including in 1881 the Mobile & Montgomery Railroad. It did not make the city its terminus, however, for it first leased and then bought the Mobile, New Orleans & Texas Railroad, and in this way became a through line from Louisville to New Orleans. It put the small railroads of which it had control into good order, and, as it passed through the Mineral Belt, which the Grand Trunk had aimed at but never reached, it became one of the leading systems of the South. This railroad ran into Pensacola on the one side and to New Orleans on the other, and deemed it to be to its interest to develop these two ports rather than Mobile, where it had competition with the Mobile & Ohio, and found few shipping facilities.

10. The Steamboats. The river traffic continued large, but gradually felt the effect of railroad competition. The boats after the War were almost all sternwheelers, as more powerful and more easily loaded, and, as the passenger traffic shifted to the railroadds, speed was less important. Marine disasters occurred from time to time. Specially distressing were the explosion of the Ocean Wave at Point Clear on a Sunday excursion in 1871, when over a hundred people, some of them children, were lost, and the burning of the William H. Gardner on the Tombigbee in 1888 when many lives were lost. The spectacular burning of the Maggie F. Burke at the city wharves cost no lives. The explosion of the James T. Staples at Bladon Springs Landing in 1913 had sad and mysterious features. Such accidents

have been rare, but the growth of the railroads at the expense of the steamboats was a continuous fact of the eighties and was something to be reckoned with by a city which had been built up by river traffic.

11. The City Charter. For a short while after the close of the War business had been prosperous, despite the political unrest, but from the time of the panic the city as a corporation felt the stress of financial trouble. Citizens were unable to pay taxes and as a result interest on the railroad and other public debts was not met and even the regular departments of the city government had insufficient income. Suits were begun by debtors against the city in the United States court, and the northern wing of the municipal building was sold under judgment and has ever since remained private property. A reorganization was made in 1875, but the city could not pay the new interest. Conditions were now much the same as after the panic of 1837, and now as then citizens got together to find a remedy. The first step was to have the state dissolve the charter of the city by an act of February 11, 1879, and place the administration of the more thickly settled part in three commissioners, with the duty to affect a settlement with the creditors. These were at first reluctant to accept any reduction of their debt, but finally an arrangement was made, providing new bonds for about two and a quarter million dollars, and it became a law by action of the legislature December 8, 1880. The debt was cut almost in half, and what represented the purchase of the wharves secured by a mortgage on the wharves. All the interest was payable from special taxes, levied by the commissioners. Meanwhile by act of the same date the government of the city itself was placed under what was called a Police Board, of whom the head was the recorder. To this office was elected Richard B. Owen.

CHAPTER XLVII.

SEVEN LEAN YEARS (1878-1885.)

1. Reorganization of Industry. There are social laws to which man conforms, although he does not realize it. Changes which sometimes bring ruin to individuals, or even to a community, are nevertheless working out a growth for society at large, and man has a wonderful capacity for adapting himself to new surroundings. We have seen this when the Spaniards came to America and gradually softened, when the French became *habitans* and Creoles, when the British absorbed the French and the two became one, and when the pioneers in the South West became different people from those on the Atlantic. We now find the same thing among the Southerners when the Civil War had destroyed the capital which had been saved up by society and the form of labor was changed from slaves to freedmen. It was a social change of the first order, and, although made worse by political interference, was one which had to work itself out in some way unless anarchy was to result. There was on the one side an effect produced on the negroes. They had formerly worked faithfully, but often only because they were forced to do so. Now they thought that they could work or not as they pleased, and for a time there was great demoralization; but after a while they found that they had to work or starve, and they settled down into more or less regular habits. A more serious feature was in the change from the personal relation of master and slave, which was often one of affection, to the business relation of employer and employed, which frequently lacked all personal interest. There was an effect also on the white people. The slavery system had developed a very high

order of man, for America furnishes no higher type of manhood than Washington and Lee; but it created also a class of poor whites who had little social standing, and manual labor had come to be looked on somewhat as a badge of inferiority. The new conditions changed all this. All whites were now poor and had to begin at the bottom, and many, both men and women, had to do work with hands which were never trained to labor. It is not to be wondered, therefore, that conditions for some years after the War were pitiful in the extreme. This marked the first stage in the economic readjustment after the War.

2. New Men. Time would bring a new generation to the front, but some new men came at once. Each era in the history of Mobile has brought new men, who have become a part of its life, and the Civil War was no exception. It had brought destruction, but it had also brought to the city from the country or from a distance such men as William J. Hearin, Albert C. Danner, Julian W. Whiting, John L. Rapier, Albert P. Bush, and J. T. Gilmore, and they were needed to fill the vacancies. For a while the military element was prominent, for the old soldiers loved their old commanders, but gradually new conditions advanced men from civil life. Some of the Federal soldiers also remained, such as Colonel M. D. Wickersham of General Thomas' staff, and others who became Federal officials. Wickersham was successively city treasurer, postmaster, and district attorney. Some came to better their condition, and others with a real desire to become a part of the community and help build it up. The military era passed and agriculture, trade and commerce became more important. From this time also may be noted the gradual disappearance of the French, who had always been so marked a feature of local history. No more came and those who were in Mobile died or were absorbed by

marriage with American families. Their customs had permeated local civilization and were to remain, but within two or three decades the French-speaking Mobilian became a rarity. On the other hand the number of Germans and of German Jews gradually increased and they added a valuable element. The population as a whole, however, in 1880 showed a decline, for it was only 29,132.

3. Revival of Business. The system of slavery had not been favorable to manufactures, for the negroes did not as a rule become skilled laborers, such as could use machines to advantage. It was different with the poor whites, but in their way they were as proud as the slaveholders and held themselves aloof on their little farms and in the mountains. It was thought that conditions were different after the War, and the old factories were put in order and new ones begun. At Mobile yarn mills, cotton cloth factories, furniture factories and other enterprises were begun from time to time, but, as this was often with small capital and without sufficient knowledge of the business, they sometimes failed, and this discouraged others. Banks and insurance companies were also revived or started, and did a good business. The Mobile Fire Department Insurance Company devised the unique feature of having firemen as stockholders, and thus interested them in saving houses,—especially those bearing the sign of the fireman's cap, adopted by this company. The Panic of 1873 crippled many of these enterprises, for, being local, they were subject to local conditions. Some, however, were lasting, such as the Stonewall Insurance Company and the Factors and Traders Insurance Company. The Fair Association had its first fair in 1874 and contributed to popularizing new methods in agriculture and other industries. C. C. Langdon was now in the fruit raising industry and through this Association and in the press

did much towards teaching how to renew soils wasted by the old methods of agriculture.

4. *The Cotton District.* Old things were passing away with new conditions, but one new element of architecture came with the revival of the cotton trade in the sixties. This business was connected with the shipping, river and marine, and naturally centered at the river front. Brokers

MOBILE FIRE DEPARTMENT INSURANCE COMPANY SIGN

and factors had their offices near together for greater convenience, and particularly in the second story of the buildings between Commerce and Front Streets. An iron verandah ran along the side facing the river, and light bridges spanned the streets north of St. Francis, so that cotton men could go from office to office for several blocks without having to descend to the street. This lasted until the destructive fire of 1892. The warehouses and presses, however, remained in the north part of town, which was rebuilt after the explosion.

5. The Banks. The National Banking Law passed by the United States during the War was applicable to the Southern States after they had returned to the Union, and the First National Bank, chartered in 1865, attained importance under James H. Masson as president, and the National Commercial Bank followed afterwards. The national banks had the right to issue currency, while the others did not. The Deposit and Savings Bank, chartered 1866, was an experiment which sought to issue paper not prohibited by law, and it furnished currency for several years. In 1871 came the Peoples Bank, which bought the site of the

FOOTE'S MONEY

old Southern Bank and was destined under the management of J. W. Whiting to become one of the greatest institutions of Alabama. The Bank of Mobile, which had survived so many years of prosperity and distress, now bought the northwest corner of Royal and St. Francis Streets and continued to be the principal bank of the city, while the Mechanics Savings Bank had been reorganized as the Mobile Savings Bank at a place of business east on St. Francis.

6. The Street Railways. The growth of Mobile just prior to the War had led to different plans for transportation of people, and under an act of legislature of 1860 the Spring Hill Railroad was built to that suburb from Mobile. There had for some years already been an omnibus company operating a line of busses from down town out Dauphin Way, and it took advantage of the new law and laid tracks on Dauphin from Royal to Lafayette, where it built stables for its horses and mules. The War had greatly interfered with both these railways, but immediately afterwards they were put in order, and other railways built. In 1866 a street railroad was built down Royal Street to the resort named Frascati among the beautiful oaks on the Bay, and later a rival road was built down Conception Street and Washington Avenue, finally reaching another resort known as Arlington on the Bay. During the same year the Dauphin Street road had a rival which was built on Government from Commerce to Lafayette, which led to the improvement of Government.

7. Revival of the Cotton Business. Some of the old cotton men were dead, and some could not adjust themselves to the new age. William H. Ross & Co., however, continued, and such names as Baker, Lawler & Co., Walsh, Smith & Co., Allen, West & Co., (afterwards Allen, Bush & West), Foster & Gardner, T. S. Fry & Co., Patrick Irwin & Co., Sims, Harrison & Co., and John A. Winston & Co. were prominent among the factors, who numbered soon over two dozen. Besides these, there were brokers and buyers, and managers of presses, warehouses and pickeries, together with many incidental industries. The cotton receipts increased for several years after the war. In 1865 there were only about 75,000 bales received from all sources, but as soon as business conditions were restored the receipts were regularly between three and four hundred

thousand. In 1875 they amounted to 320,822 and in 1878 reached high water mark at 419,071 bales. Of this considerably over half came by rail, the Mobile & Ohio bringing twice as much as the Mobile & Montgomery Railroad; of the amount coming by river the Bigbee and Warrior brought twice as much as the Alabama. These proportions, however, varied from year to year.

8. Decline of the Cotton Business. The cotton men had got used to new conditions, and new men were in control of affairs. But the conditions changed again and from the late seventies the receipts began to fall off, for cotton went by railroad to other ports where it could be loaded from the cars into the ships. In 1880 there came still 392,319 bales, but in seven years the receipts went down to 216,142 bales. The effect was marked. Less cotton meant fewer people to handle it, and less profits for those who did handle it. The Panic of 1873 had caused great distress, and this falling off in cotton was due to permanent diversion of the crop elsewhere by rail, and prevented Mobile from rallying from the effects of the panic. This marked the second and the more serious stage in the economic readjustment after the War. Mobile was ceasing to be a port.

9. The Railroad Commission. Mobile had become great when swift steamboats superseded flatboats and dirt roads, and was now passing through a crisis because of the yet swifter transportation by the railroads. The effort of the railroads was to kill competition on the rivers by carrying freight at a low price during the seasons when the rivers were high enough for the boats, and then raising rates during the summer when low water stopped the boats. The result was that the boat traffic on the Alabama and Tombigbee was much affected, and it paid planters and merchants to do their business by railroad,

and, as railroads were more interested in other points where there was deep water at the wharves, Mobile suffered accordingly. Her business men saw the power of these corporations, and set to work to improve the waterways on the one hand, and on the other to control the railroads.

The lead in regulation had already been taken by the state of Georgia, and now the Alabama legislature in 1881 passed a law which created a state Railroad Commission, whose duty it was to see that charges for freight and passengers were fixed according to the distance carried. The same regulation was effected as to interstate commerce through the Interstate Commerce Commission established by Congress in 1887, and much good has been accomplished by it. But as yet the main seat of the trouble had not been reached. Mobile's foreign shipping had greatly decreased and something more was needed to restore it.

10. Failure of the Bank of Mobile. While a business panic may come all at once, the recovery is always slow, and may last for many years. The effects of the Panic of 1873 were felt by the banks as well as the rest of the business world. In the Bank of Mobile other causes were added to the business situation, and in 1884 this pioneer institution closed its doors. The failure created consternation, and caused runs on all the other banks. This crisis continued for several days, but at last quiet was restored, and the chancery court began winding up the affairs of the Bank of Mobile.

11. Depression. The depression which accompanied the decline in cotton affected every line of business, and particularly the exports which were so largely made up of cotton. In 1873 these exports had been over $12,000,000, and this was surpassed in 1876 and 1877, but from this time on there was a rapid decline. In 1878 the exports

amounted to $9,000,000 and then fell to something over $6,000,000, while in 1882 they had fallen almost to $3,000,000. The value of imports were affected in the same way, although with greater variations. They had been $1,000,000 in 1873 and fluctuated in the neighborhood of this figure through 1879, when they fell to half million and by 1882 were under $400,000. To offset this was only a slight increase in the lumber and timber business, and the growth of the new industry of vegetable farming. Much land was put in vegetables about Mobile and from a few thousand dollars the business increased to almost $300,000. This, however, was but a small offset to the loss of cotton and the whole community suffered in consequence. It was commonly said that Mobile had become a way-station on the Louisville & Nashville Railroad and that no improvement was to be expected. All business was depressed, property decreased in value, and a spirit of discouragement seemed to take possession of the community.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

THE HARBOR AND THE RIVERS.

1. Mobile and Deep Water. Mobile is a port and as such dependent upon the interior and on foreign commerce. It had not been a manufacturing centre, and relied upon the river traffic, afterwards re-inforced by railroads, to bring the articles which it shipped abroad. The decline of Mobile had been due to the fact that her magnificent river system was shut off from the harbor by several bars formed by deposits from the rivers. Before the War and immediately after this had been overcome by lightering cargoes from the city down to deep water, but when railroads were built to the north and to the southwest it was found cheaper in the Cotton Belt to ship direct to the mills in the East or through to deeper water at New Orleans. The result was that Mobile practically ceased to be a port, and this was the cause of stagnation of business and emigration of her young men. The nature of the trade with the interior was now different also. Before the War the wholesale business was small, as the planters or their factors bought their supplies in Mobile at retail. The growth of the interior towns now changed this, and made it necessary for Mobile stores to become wholesale houses and jobbers. This re-adjustment was made, but the question of deep water was less easily solved.

2. The Jetties. It was characteristic, that, while many other places acted on the principle of "the old flag and a big appropriation," Mobile began the work of making her harbor adequate in the same way in which she built her first great railroad. In 1867 she secured the passage of an act of the legislature authorizing the county to issue bonds to the amount of a million dollars,

to be expended by a Harbor Board for the improvement of the Bay and harbor. The water over Choctaw Point Bar had shoaled to about seven feet, and there was a great deal of discussion whether a channel should be dug or the current of the river could be confined so as to scour out its own channel through the main bars off Choctaw Point and Dog River. The scouring plan was adopted, the pass between Blakely and Pinto Islands closed, and jetties were placed at the south end of Pinto, at Frascati, at what is now Monroe Park, and at Arlington. This work was done by General Braxton Bragg as engineer, and about two hundred thousand dollars expended; but the results were not satisfactory and in 1872 the act was repealed.

3. The Board of Trade. The Mobile Board of Trade had been organized in 1868 with Col. Woodruff as president. From the time that business began to decline in the seventies this organization was wide awake to the situation. There were two committees in particular which studied affairs and sought to remedy them. One was that on harbor improvement, of which Thomas A. Hamilton was chairman, and the other on water routes, of which Col. Joseph Hodgson was chairman, and on which A. C. Danner acted, and to such men Mobile owes her recovery from what promised to be a permanent decay. The Board of Trade was at that time on St. Michael Street east of Royal, and there were held the consultations which led to sending delegations to congress to advocate not only cutting through the Choctaw Point and Dog River bars, but the digging of a channel from the deep water of the lower Bay to the wharves of the city. The annual reports of the Board of Trade were devoted largely to this subject, as well as to securing factories for Mobile. The Board of Trade was reorganized in 1884 as the Chamber of Commerce, which continued its good work; but the beginning

of the harbor improvement was due to the committees of the old organization.

4. The First Project for Digging a Channel. The work was beyond the ability of one city and resort was had to the Federal government. The matter was pressed upon congress and a beginning was made while Reconstruction congressman like F. G. Bromberg (representative until 1875) could act in harmony with the Republican majority. In 1870 an appropriation was secured of fifty thousand dollars, and a survey made. Work began the next year on the plan of digging a channel thirteen feet deep and two hundred feet wide from the city to deep water, and with an annual appropriation, never exceeding one hundred thousand dollars, this first project was completed in 1876. The results were stisfactory, and, as the bottom of the Bay was found to be a blue clay, there was little difficulty in maintaining the thirteen foot depth.

The improvement of commerce was quick and marked. Ships drawing thirteen feet now came easily to the city wharves. At first they were only a few dozen, but in a short time they exceeded a hundred and by 1883 were over two hundred in number. Many were sailing vessels, but steamships also came in increasing proportion. They carried away the cotton, timber and lumber, and brought foreign imports; but the importing side was not at first well developed, for many vessels came in ballst.

5. Second Channel Project. There soon came the necessity, therefore, for a deeper channel, and in 1878, while James Taylor Jones of Demopolis was congressman, a survey was made to see what could be done. It was found by examination of the bottom of the Bay that a depth of twenty-one feet was possible; but a plan for seventeen feet was actually adopted, and for this congress made appropriations, averaging one hundred thousand dollars

annually, until the channel was cut through the two bars. The work was then perfected by deepening to seventeen feet the whole channel throughout its length of about twenty-six miles.

6. Later Projects. The Cotton Exchange as well as the Chamber of Commerce interested themselves in this undertaking, so important to the whole community, and a Joint Committee of the two commercial bodies was formed, which worked with the Mobile congressman. In this way in 1888 the further project was adopted of deepening the channel to twenty-three feet and giving it a width of two hundred and eighty feet at the top, and soon also a plan for extending the work up the Mobile River to the mouth of Chickasabogue was adopted, through the influence of R. H. Clarke, congressman from Mobile from 1889. These undertakings were placed under the continuous contract plan, and have been completed. The total expense has been about three million and a half dollars.

7. The Existing Channel. There is no limit to the possibilities of the Mobile channel except the depth of the water in the river at the one end and the depth of the outer bar at the other end. Before one project has been completed another has been adopted, and this will continue and Mobile keep abreast of any other port. The last project was for 27 feet and was adopted in the year 1910 and is now practically completed, with the result that vessels drawing twenty-seven feet can come up to the city wharves. There has also been completed a plan for cutting the channel straight at the mouth of the river and thus getting rid of an elbow which greatly impeded navigation. The channel over the outer bar has been gradually deepening from natural causes ever since the storm of 1717 closed the pass by Dauphine Island, and can be deepened artificially as may be desired. The depth at the wharves has

been dredged out to the channel of the river, and a basin of about eight hundred by six hundred feet has been dredged below the mouth of Chickasabogue. The general result, therefore, is that there is a complete channel from the outer bar to Chickasabogue of twenty-seven feet depth.

8. The Rivers. Thoughtful men realized that the rivers must be improved at the same time with the harbor. The state was interested and conventions were held at different times to consider the question, among them one at Blount Springs in the year 1877 and one at Tuscaloosa in 1885; and plans were formed as to the Alabama, Tombigbee, and other rivers which had never been improved by either state or gneeral government. The bitter experience in aiding railroads led to the provision in the Constitution of 1875 forbidding the state to undertake what was called internal improvements. It was left, therefore, for the United States government to do whatever was necessary. The Alabama-Tombigbee system is composed of eleven rivers, affording in all, if improved, over two thousand miles of navigable waters, draining basins of forty thousand miles in extent inhabited by more than a million people. Alabama, Mississippi and Georgia were concerned, and congress was induced to survey the rivers and finally to appropriate money for their improvement. It was conceded that little or nothing could be done with the rivers above Wetumpka on account of the hard rock through which they run, but not only did the lower rivers flow through a rich agricultural country, but vast quantities of coal and iron were in the Cahaba and Warrior valleys. These were already partly opened by means of railroads, and if the rivers could be improved the products could be brought to the seaboard at Mobile. About 1875 appropriations were begun for the larger

rivers. The first work was in removing snags, and afterwards permanent works were undertaken, and provision made for canalizing the rivers and providing slack water navigation. Locks on the Warrior have been in course of construction for a number of years, and when completed coal and iron can be brought from the vicinity of Birmingham to Mobile. In the course of ten years about half a million dollars was secured for these purposes, including a hundred thousand dollars for the Alabama, Tombigbee and the Warrior, respectively. There was as much more for the upper Coosa, but this aided Rome, The Birmingham canal will come in time.

8. Steamship Lines. Mobilians had established a steamship line with New York before the War, and as business improved something was done in this direction again. And it was needed, for in the eighties and even later the cotton shipped by sea was only forty odd thousand bales. When the thirteen foot channel was assured a company was organized that built on the Clyde a steamship called the Mobile. She was received at Mobile with enthusiasm and opened a line plying regularly to Liverpool under the British flag. Although she ran only one or two seasons, and was not large enough to be profitable, the Mobile began the regular export of cotton and import of other things and led the way to a large business. Transportation was so much in the hands of railroads that shipping could best get its freight by means of them. On the other hand a railroad like the Mobile & Ohio, reaching deep water, needed steamship transportation to foreign markets, and so with the increasing depth of the harbor the Mobile & Ohio arranged for larger and regular shipping facilities. From the middle eighties dates a steamship line to New York and also one to Liverpool, carrying cotton, and gradually other companies have established

lines from Mobile to different points. In this way have come the Munson and Mallory Steamship Lines to New York, the United Fruit Company to Central America, and others to the West Indies and to South America.

9. Results. Each improvement of the river and each deepening of the channel increased the commerce of Mobile. The lighterage companies went out of business, but the steamboats handled more traffic both up and down the Alabama-Tombigbee Basin, and vessels which formerly had to take cargo in the lower Bay now came up to the city. Not only were cargoes more easily handled, but, as steamships were now used, ships came oftener, and more money was spent in town. There had been marine ways and dry docks on one bank of the river or the other for many years, and more business was brought to them. The south part of the town, whose river front had so long been valueless, came into demand and was built up. The ship chandlery business grew, banking and insurance increased, and all branches of business felt the improvement which resulted from deepening the waterways to and from Mobile. Grant's Pass has also been improved and aids commerce with the coast. Water transportation supplied the needed competition with the railroads, and railway rates were lowered; so that Mobile gradually won back its place as a distributing point for the Alabama-Tombigbee Basin. Much of what had been accomplished in one epoch by building the Mobile & Ohio was now accomplished in another way by improving the waterways which centred at Mobile. Mobile ceased to decline and began the improvement which has ever since continued. The ship channel made Mobile a port again.

CHAPTER XLIX.

GROWTH.

1. Cotton. The main reliance of Mobile during its American history had been cotton. Something had been attempted in the way of factories, but for a long time the principal business was still the shipment of cotton in compressed bales. The quantity coming to Mobile was much lessened, since the railroad systems, reaching to the East and owned there, found it to their interest to transport cotton direct to the New England mills without letting it come to tide-water. This was the culmination of the movement which had begun when Charleston and Savannah built their railroads westwardly before the War and tapped the Alabama-Tombigbee Basin at Montgomery. It was clear, therefore, either the cotton trade must be regained or something else developed to take its place.

2. Lumber. If the cotton business declined with the growth of the railroads the contrary was true of lumber; for not only did the railways give new territory, but branches and logging roads to the rivers gradually opened up the forests on every hand. There had always been sawmills on or near the country watercourses, and even before the War the mills of William Otis at the foot of Madison Street were among the institutions of the city. Otis and others marked the first stage in the history of the lumber business at Mobile, but they did little foreign business and none to Europe. Pensacola had taken the lead, but as its tributary forests were thinned out attention was more and more directed to the Alabama-Tombigbee Basin.

Albert C. Danner had come to Mobile a few years after the War and in the seventies began the export of lumber

and timber to Europe. The business grew and its possibilities were now learned for the first time. In the early seventies the total foreign export of lumber and timber was about ten million cubic feet, and in 1877 it was over thirteen millions. By 1881 the total shipment of lumber alone was eighteen million cubic feet, and the year following this was almost doubled. Danner's company failed in 1884 at the same time with the Bank of Mobile, but other men had entered into the business and in the late eighties lumber mills lined the river from Chickasabogue almost to Choctaw Point. One of the largest was the Sullivan Timber Company under John W. Black, which came here after the death of the elder Sullivan at Pensacola.

In value the high-water mark of lumber export was million and a half dollars in 1910.

3. Timber. Something had been done in timber before the War. Murrell and Eslava shipped spars to the French government, and after the War Danner and his associates handled timber as well as lumber. In 1881 the timber shipments amounted to one and a quarter million cubic feet, which was about equal to the lumber trade.

A new element in the business came when Guy, Bevan & Company opened an office at the beginning of the eighties. Their agents were Canadians, for, on account of the closing of their ports in winter, they began to establish agencies in the South. Among the early ones was H. G. G. Donald and in 1884 came James Hunter, who had been their agent at Darien, Georgia. A.S. Benn was early connected with this firm and he and the Hunters built up a large business in hewn timber. In those days shipments were by sailing vessels, loaded through portholes in the bow, but in 1886 Donald loaded the Sculptor, the first steamer carrying a full cargo of sawn pitchpine timber for Liverpool. In

value the high-water mark of timber exports have been about two million and a half dollars in 1907, and almost four million dollars of hewn timber in 1893. Improvement in the naval stores business was also marked at an early date.

4. The Turning Point. A disaster can be dated, but it is difficult to fix the exact time for an upward movement in commerce. Nevertheless, it is plain, that, despite the failure of the Bank of Mobile and the weakness of other institutions which followed, from 1885 a different spirit took possession of the business men of Mobile. The country as a whole had recovered from the Panic of 1873 and Mobile began to feel the effects of regulation of the railroads and the deepening of the harbor and rivers. In 1883 was erected the first large private dwelling for a decade, the Government Street home of F. J. McCoy, who was in the naval stores business. The Cotton Exchange was built shortly afterwards and marked the return of prosperity, which was soon evidenced in handsome stores in both the retail and wholesale districts. The population took an upward turn and for 1890 the census gave Mobile 31,076 people.

5. The Mobile & Ohio. No great railroad genius came to the front during these times of economic change to make the Mobile & Ohio the great trunk line to the West its builders had planned; nevertheless, much was accomplished. William Butler Duncan of New York had been in control since the reorganization in 1876 and worked untiringly to put the finances of the company in good order. Under able managers the road was improved, and, in the eighties, a line leased from Cairo, Ill., north to St. Louis, so that the road was a through line from St. Louis to the Gulf at Mobile. E. L. Russell as attorney aided Mr. Duncan a great deal in developing the road. The

branches to Aberdeen and Columbus were maintained, but the Gainesville branch, so useful during the War, and that to Starkville were discontinued. A railroad was built to Coden on the Sound, and the Columbus branch was extended through the Mineral Belt and Tuscaloosa over to Montgomery. The Mobile & Ohio finally became a part of the Southern Railway and acquired even better connections.

6. The Mobile and West Alabama Railroad. The new spirit was reflected in the organization in 1886 of the Mobile and West Alabama Railway by Mobilians. The old Grand Trunk plan of bringing coal to Mobile by rail was revived, although it was perhaps too late for the road to be a trunk system as originally proposed. The rights of the Grand Trunk Company were bought, money secured by issuing bonds, a bridge built at Jackson, and the road pushed on northward as the Mobile and Birmingham Railroad. It did not reach Birmingham, for it stopped at Uniontown, but this gave it connection with Selma and both the East and the West, and it became a factor in Mobile's history. It was the more striking, because not speculative or political, like the Reconstruction railroads, and it did not stand alone. It, too, ultimately became a link in the Southern Railway system.

7. The Kansas City Railroad. Somewhat as M. J. D. Baldwyn had preached a railroad to the Mississippi until the Mobile & Ohio was built, Chancellor Hurieosco Austill urged a revival of the old Mobile and Northwestern scheme until business men were interested, subscriptions made for survey, and money obtained to begin the road. Capital was secured by Colonel Frank B. Merrill and the railroad was built towards Hattiesburg, and has ever since been advancing further. The terminus sought has been changed so that the road no longer aims for Kansas

City, but runs through Mississippi west of the Mobile & Ohio. Judge Austill did not reap the benefit of his plan, but should be honored as the father of the enterprise, and also as originating the road to Dauphine Island to take the place of the old Cedar Point Railroad.

8. A New Charter. The people of Mobile began to find the Port law too narrow. Some attempts were made to amend the Port act, and it was finally determined to restore the name of "city." Accordingly on December 10, 1886, the legislature passed an act providing for the City of Mobile, restoring the mayor, and creating a general council, composed of aldermen and councilmen, but leaving the city limits the same. This act was amended several times, especially in 1897, and ten years later changed so as to restore the boundaries of the old city.

9. Public Improvements. Richard B. Owen had been recorder since the Port was created, and at the election of 1887 ran for mayor. He was opposed by a young lawyer, Joseph C. Rich, who had been active in the city board, and after an exciting election Mr. Rich was successful. His administration of six years marked a time of great public improvement. Heretofore roadways of the streets had not been paved except with shells, and this was now remedied so far as the city powers allowed. One important act of the Rich administration was abolishing the old volunteer fire department, which had existed in one form or other since 1819. A dispute with the department as to appropriations led to the establishment of an efficient paid fire department in 1888, using the newly established Bienville Water Supply Company system. Most of the engine houses were already owned by the city, and new engines were installed. A second question was connected with water. Serious litigation occurred between the city and the Bienville Company as to water rates, and the

final result was the purchase of the Bienville plant by the city, which had already bought the Stein works. In this way the city secured a fire department and water supply of its own.

10. The Banana Trade. A new element of foreign commerce was now added. It is an old proverb that the luxuries of one generation become the necessity of the next, and we find this true in connection with bananas. In order to secure some of the fruit business from Central America the Chamber of Commerce offered a bonus of $1,500 for the company that should operate steamers for a year, and this attracted H. L. McConnell to Mobile. The first ship bringing bananas was the steamer Sala, which came in 1893 consigned to the Mobile Fruit & Trading Company, and marked the beginning of the Mobile fruit trade on a large sclae. Four years later the Snyder Banana Company increased the business until it attracted the attention of the United Fruit Company, whose headquarters were at Boston. A plan of loading specially constructed cars and rushing them on fast schedules to St. Louis, Chicago, and even as far west as the Pacific developed into a system from 1898, when the United Fruit Company bought out the Snyder Company and made Mobile one of its ports. The steamships Morgan and Gaines, owned by Mobilians and run in this trade under the Norwegian flag, were continued in the fruit business, and most of the shipping continued to be Norwegian. Others have gone into the business and there have been changes from time to time and the United Fruit, Hubbard-Zemurry, and Orr and Laubenheimer import through Mobile between four and five million bunches of bananas a season. This requires steamships specially constructed for the trade and employs many men.

11. Trade with the West Indies. From the earliest time Mobile has carried on trade with the countries to the

south and no port was more interested in the Spanish War over Cuba in 1898. A Mobilian, Hannis Taylor, had been minister to Spain during the stirring time leading up to this conflict. There was not only a large encampment of troops near Three Mile Creek, but the Mobile Rifles and other companies went into the war. A Mobile vessel was the first to enter Havana after peace returned and the trade of this port with Cuba became second to New York. Only less important has been the trade with the other West India Islands, particularly Hayti and the French possessions, for commercially American Mobile became more closely connected with these than in the days when it was French also. The business covers export of timber, dry goods, and food supplies of all kinds, and import of hard wood and other products of the islands.

12. Set-Backs. The improvement in the last decade of the 19th century was so marked that some things which previously retarded the city's growth have not during this period had that effect. The yellow fever epidemic of the seventies, particularly 1873 and 1877, demoralized business and made people flee for the time being, but later epidemics proved milder. The last was in 1897 and produced little effect, except that the quarantines were more disastrous to business than the fever was to lives. A Quarantine Convention was held at Mobile in 1888 and not long afterwards the cause of the yellow fever was discovered, and the disease disappeared as well as all fear of it.

Conflagrations such as one in 1890, have been kept within control, and financial panics have ceased to disturb to the same extent as formerly. There was one in 1893 and another in 1907, which affected business, but the effect has been temporary, and the growth of the Mobile territory has not been seriously retarded. The backsets have been temporary, while the growth has been permanent.

CHAPTER L.

A NEW CENTURY.

1. Bicentenaries. With the turn of the century came several anniversaries of interest to Mobilians. In 1898 there was celebrated at St. Stephens the centennial of the Spanish Evacuation, attended by many people of Mobile as well as from the neighboring country, and in 1902 came the two-hundredth anniversary of the founding of Bienville's city at Twenty-seven Mile Bluff. A monument was unveiled there and a tablet placed on the court

BICENTENNIAL MEDALS

house at Mobile with appropriate ceremonies. When the year 1911 brought around the two hundredth anniversary of the removal of Mobile to the present site, it was celebrated by striking a medal and by marking the corners of the French town, around which a great civil, military and naval procession moved to the city hall, on which a suitable bronze tablet was placed as marking the site of Bienville's New Fort Louis. For with all their interest in the present and hope in the future Mobilians are proud of the city's past and honor its founders.

2. Commission Government. The four elements of government, family, church and industry make up the life of a community, and Mobile has as to the first worked out many problems under a mayor and two governing boards. Under these it has secured adequate water supply, paving and sewers, supplied by the city, and electric lighting secured by contract. Not only did Mobile adjust her government to her economic needs, as in 1843 and 1879, but even in improvement of the city government she has kept abreast of modern political thought. With the growth of American cities, the sentiment became quite general that their government should not be left to political parties. Experiments had been made in Des Moines, Galveston and elsewhere looking to having a government by a few men called commissioners instead of by two large boards, and an act was adopted by the legislature of Alabama in 1911 allowing Mobile to pass upon the question. The plan, after an active campaign, was adopted and the simplified form of government has given general satisfaction.

3. Social Life. The pleasant social life for which Mobile has been famous is due in large part to the blood and to the customs of the old French. The incoming Americans have been adopted into this social world and have scarcely changed it. Her clubs and societies make up an essential part of Mobile. Home life has been varied only in one respect, the growing tendency towards suburban life. This is due to the arrival from the West of several men who have introduced new methods in the real estate business, among them C. C. Mechem and J. Howard Wilson. The former did for country lands what had been done before the War for Spanish tracts in the city. He bought up large tracts and subdivided them for home seekers in the suburbs and in other parts of Mobile and Baldwin Counties. Wilson became interested in street railways and in 1891 ran an

electric line down Marine Street, which was so successful that he was able after a while to combine with it the City Railroad property, recently electrified, and to extend railway systems in various directions. This led not only to the building of new residences, but enabled families to live further from the business centre. Such districts as Oakdale, Government Street Loop, Ashland Place, Flo-Claire, and many additions and subdivisions have in this way taken the population further to the west and south. The result is that Mobile occupies much more space than in the past, and many of its most beautiful residences are in the suburbs. The population all told in 1900 was 38,469, of whom over twenty-one thousand were white. The number in 1912 is estimated at 60,000 people.

5. Literature. The improvement in business meant improvement in all lines of civil life, and as a part of it should be mentioned literature. Father Ryan came to St. Mary's shortly after the War and much of his religious poetry date from this time, although his "Conquered Banner" was published in a newspaper under his nom-de-plume, Moina, before he came to Mobile. Since that time Augusta Evans Wilson had written some of her best known books, among them "Vashti," "At the Mercy of Tiberius," and not long before her death "The Speckled Bird." Mrs. Elizabeth W. Bellamy wrote "Seven Oaks," "Old Man Gilbert" and other charming Southern novels, and amongst other distinguished Mobile authoresses may be named Margaret Henry Ruffin, Mary McNeill Fenolosa, and also Amelie Rives, formerly of Mobile. T. C. De-Leon has written many books, mainly about the Civil War, of which the best known is "Four Years in Rebel Capitals," and has conducted newspapers at different times. Hannis Taylor 1889 published the first volume of his "History of the British Constitution," of which the

second volume appeared later, and in 1901 came his "International Public Law." In 1897 appeared "Colonial Mobile" by P. J. Hamilton, a study of the early history of this part of the country, and since he has published "Colonization of the South" and the "Reconstruction Period." Mobile literature, therefore, has added to poetry and the novel the other departments of history and law.

6. The Past. The French time saw the founding of the city up the river and then the removal to the present site, and has left lasting traces in the blood and customs of the people. The British period lasted but a few years and was little more than a promise of what would be accomplished under the Americans. The Spanish rule was longer, but the Spaniards were few in number, and their lasting memorial is in our land titles. It was with the coming of the Americans in 1813 that the forward movement of Mobile began, and this attained its height in the thirties and fifties, when a little town of 20,000 was the second largest cotton port in the world. The Confederate period was one of heroism and suffering, and this prepared the survivors to work out a greater future. Up to the Civil War the rivers had been the commercial arteries of the state and they led to the sea at Mobile; with the close of the War railroads became dominant factors, and the building of the modern city had to be done over again. The earlier epochs are full of interest and romance for the whole Alabama-Tombigbee Basin; the last, in which we live, presents a study of city growth. The field is more limited, for the river basin has begun to have new cities, looking in other directions than towards the sea. It is a problem of intensive rather than extensive growth, and yet, as city life is now becoming the principal feature of modern civilization, the study of Mobile since the War has an interest all its own.

11. The Future. The close of the Civil War, therefore, had left the South face to face with new conditions in politics, religion, social affairs and industry. Mobile shared all these difficulties, and had, moreover, some special to herself. The rule by the ignorant and by aliens in Reconstruction days was changed into local self-government by 1874, and most of the other evils were gradually adjusted; but economic conditions were harder to settle. Immediately after the War there was a deceptive show of prosperity, due to the beginning again of cotton receipts and shipments; but railroad construction soon changed all this and brought a period of great depression. Mobile all but ceased to be a port. It is to the credit of Mobile that she undertook to meet these conditions by making herself a port again. She first tried her own resources and afterwards worked on congress until a channel was surveyed and gradually dug. Prosperity returned, and there is no limit to the possible improvement.

Her main reliance in former years was cotton, and this must ever remain important. Its future increase, however, will be slow; unless there is some change in methods of production, it may remain almost stationary. Lumber and timber in the past twenty years have been of increasing importance, but this source also may be temporary, for so far no means have been discovered of reforesting the pine woods. New railroads, such as the Tombigbee Valley and improved surface roads will develop all the tributary country; for quicker transportation will be in the future as it has been in the past, the test and means of growth.

But these are not the only resources of Mobile. With the improvement of the rivers, coal and iron will be brought here to an increasing extent. This will not only be a new source of commerce, but will develop manufactures. Wood and cotton factories and iron works are already important

and will make up a large part of Mobile's future, for as one basis of industry lessens the genius of her people always supplies another.

It is as a port that Mobile will be great in the future as she has been in the past. Even if her immediate trade territory should be gradually lessened, she can acquire another further off. Mobile can in this way grow by becoming the chief port of the West, as was planned by Bienville once and by the founders of the Mobile & Ohio Railroad later, and as yet only partially realized; and, looking abroad, the development of the countries about the Gulf of Mexico and the opening of more distant fields by the Panama Canal promise a future greater than the past.

APPENDIX

I—GOVERNORS.

Mississippi Territory

1798—Winthrop Sargent.
1801—Wm. C. C. Claiborne.
1805—Robert Williams.
1809—David Holmes.

Alabama Territory.

1817—William W. Bibb.

State of Alabama.

1819—William W. Bibb, (Autauga County.)
1820-1821—Thomas Bibb, (Limestone.)
1821-1825—Isreal Pickens, (Greene.)
1825-1829—John Murphy, (Monroe.)
1829-1831—Gabriel Moore, (Madison.)
1831—Samuel B. Moore, (Jackson.)
1831-1835—John Gayle, (Greene.)
1835-1837—Clement C. Clay, (Madison.)
1837—Hugh McVay, (Lauderdale.)
1837-1841—Arthur P. Bagby, (Monroe.)
1841-1845—Benj. Fitzpatrick, (Autauga.)
1845-1847—Joshua L. Martin, (Tuscaloosa.)
1847-1849—Reuben Chapman, (Madison.)
1849-1853—Henry W. Collier, (Tuscaloosa.)
1853-1857—John A. Winston, (Sumter.)
1857-1861—Andrew B. Moore, (Perry.)
1861-1863—John G. Shorter, (Barbour.)
1863-1865—Thomas H. Watts, (Montgomery.)
1865—Lewis E. Parsons, (Talladega.)

1865-1868—Robert M. Patton, (Lauderdale.)
1868-1870—William H. Smith, (Randolph.)
1870-1872—Robert B. Lindsay, (Colbert.)
1872-1874—David P. Lewis, (Madison.)
1874-1878—George S. Houston, (Limestone.)
1878-1882—Rufus W. Cobb, (Shelby.)
1882-1886—Edward A. O'Neal, (Lauderdale.)
1886-1890—Thomas Seay, (Hale.)
1890-1894—Thomas G. Jones, (Montgomery.)
1894-1896—William C. Oates, (Henry.)
1896-1900—Joseph E. Johnston, (Jefferson.)
1900—Wm. J. Samford.
1901-1907—Wm. D. Jelks.
1907-1911—B. B. Comer.
1911—Emmet O'Neal, (Lauderdale.)

II—MAYORS, ETC., OF MOBILE.

Presidents (Annual Term.)

1814—James Innerarity.
1815—Lewis Judson.
1816—James Innerarity.
1817—Daniel Duvol.
1818-1819—Samuel H. Garrow.

Mayors of Mobile (Annual Term.)

1820-1821—Addin Lewis.
1822—John Elliott.
1823—Addin Lewis.
1824-1827—Samuel H. Garrow.
1827-1829—John F. Everett.
1830—Samuel H. Garrow.

1831-1834—Jno. Stocking, Jr.
1835—J. F. Everett.
1836—Geo. W. Owen.
1837-1838—George Walton.
1839—Henry Chamberlain.
1840-1841—Edward Hall.
1842-1844—Chas. A. Hoppin.
1845-1846—Blanton McAlpine.
1847—J. W. L. Childers.
1848-1850—C. C. Langdon.
1851—Joseph Seawell.
1852-1854—C. C. Langdon.
1855-1859—Jones M. Withers.
1860—John Forsyth.
1861-1865—R. H. Slough.
1865—John Forsyth.
1866—J. M. Withers.
1867—G. Horton.
1868-1869—Caleb Price.
1870—George F. Harrington.
1871—Martin Horst.
1872—Gideon M. Parker.
1873—Chas. F. Mouldon.
1874—John Reid, Jr.
1875-1877—Alphonse Hurtel.
1878-1879—George G. Duffee.

Recorder (Three Year Term.)

1879-1886—Richard B. Owen.

Mayor (Three Year Term.)

1886—R. B. Owen.
1888-1893—Joseph C. Rich.
1894—Constantine L. Lavretta.

1897—J. C. Bush.
1900—Thomas S. Fry.
1902—W. F. Walsh.
1903—Charles E. McLean.
1904—Pat. J. Lyons.
1911—Laz Schwarz.

III—PRESENT MOBILE.

1. Churches. The Lutheran church was built as early as 1868 near Wilkinson street, and the other churches have gradually followed the emigration of their people. The Methodist Beehive was among the first to move to the west, and its congregation is now at the corner of Broad and Government Streets. Similarly the Jackson Street Presbyterian Church have the ground which was Maury's headquarters on Ann and Dauphin, and across the street the Dauphin Way Baptist Church has been built. A handsome new synagogue has been built on Government street and the Orthodox Jews have erected a smaller one on Conti street a block away. The First Baptist Church has erected a handsome edifice on Government and Jefferson Streets. St. Joseph's Catholic Church has been rebuilt and with other public buildings faces a park recently laid out and named for Father Ryan. Many new churches, such as the Synagogue on Government, have been built and old ones improved.

The negro churches show similar improvement. The old Methodist Beehive and the old Jackson Street Presbyterian Church are now colored churches, and the Little Zion, State Street Baptist, and other of the older edifices have been remodelled, often with taste.

2. Buildings. The business centre has been made over. In 1893 the old Guard House was demolished and a new prison and offices erected. Not the least of the good done by Mr. A. C. Harte during his long life in Mobile was the building of the handsome and useful Y. M. C. A. in 1897 on Government and Conception Streets, and the Fidelia and Athelstan Clubs also have put up handsome homes. Office buildings began with the Pollock Building in 1903 and the Masonic Building shortly afterwards. Among the hotels the Bienville and Cawthon have been erected, and the Battle House rebuilt (1908) after a disastrous fire and on a handsomer scale. One of the most significant of the modern buildings is the City Bank and Trust Company erected in 1903, for this institution introduced new methods of banking and has rapidly become one of the leading institutions of the city. A Rink was erected on Royal and St. Louis, and this became for a while a theatre, and later the Lyric Theatre on Conti was built. The Mobile Theatre, on the site of the Marston House, and long been the principal play-house, was remodelled about the same time, but was burned again in 1913. The Van Antwerp Building was put up in 1907 and the Knights of Columbus Hall a few years later, and in the wholesale and retail business district many stores have been erected which are ornaments to the city. In these, however, there has been an unfortunate tendency to abolish the galleries over the sidewalks which are so characteristic of Mobile. The buildings erected towards the end of the last century followed convenience rather than any one style of architecture; those built of late years show more taste. They are quite generally of the Renaissance style for public buildings, and American Colonial, with great columns in front, for residences. Little has been done so

far towards preserving the old Spanish and Creole houses, or towards building on their models, and such preservation of old types is necessary if Mobile is to keep its individuality.

3. Banks and Industries. New banks like the City Bank and Trust Company, the Bank of Mobile and the Merchants Bank indicate the improvement in business, and cotton mills have been built with sufficient capital to become paying investments. The same might be said of wood and iron manufactories of different kinds, while the old lines of industry, like wholesale groceries, have increased in volume.

4. The Mobile Newspapers. The Advertiser had disappeared at the time of the War, and the Tribune flourished under Jones M. Withers for some years afterwards. There also came papers called the Chroncile and the Herald, which at times were ably edited, and the Weekly Item, established by John F. Cothran, finally became a daily; and the Mobile Register remained throughout, with unbroken usefulness. After the War John Forsyth continued his able editorials in the Register, later came Joseph Hodgson, and afterwards Erwin Craighead. The management was until lately in John L. Rapier. These papers have been great factors in Mobile life, encouraging citizens under adversity and inspiring them to higher ideals.

5. Trade. However important political, social and religious life may be for the individual, the test and basis of the life of a city lies in its industries. These are the roots, the others the flowers. The business of Mobile has always been mainly connected with commerce,—the bringing of raw material like cotton or lumber to the tide water and shipping it abroad, on the one side, and on the other bringing fruit or products from abroad to be shipped inland. This it is that makes up a port. The main

reliance of Mobile since the eighties has been the foreign shipment of cotton, lumber and timber, and importation of bananas, together with the wholesale shipment of vegetables and groceries to the interior. There has been a gradual growth in all these lines, and incidentally in banking, insurance, retail trade and everything connected with commerce.

During the eighties the cotton handled fluctuated between two hundred and two hundred and fifty thousand bales, during the nineties it rose 364,766 bales, and the crop handled at Mobile in 1912 was 384,239 bales. The export of cotton has been principally to Liverpool in England, to Havre in France, and to Germany, and the amount shipped to France and that to Germany has in some years equalled the shipments to Great Britain. The amount of trade with Cuba is as great as with any European country.

The timber and lumber trade has shown a gradual increase, and in 1912 amounted to five and a half million dollars and bananas to two millions and a quarter.

On the whole the imports of Mobile have increased from less than half a million dollars in 1880 to almost five millionf in 1912, and exports from seven million dollars in 1880 to almost thirty-three million in 1912. In tonnage Mobile is the ninth port in the United States, and the stages in its growth have been marked by the stept in the improvement of its harbor. The channel to the sea is the artery through which flows Mobile's life blood.

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